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ABSTRACT

In the city of Saskatoon (Saskatchewan), parents and students have a unique opportunity to choose between nondenominational public schools and publicly supported Roman Catholic schools, with no penalties or fees attached to either choice. The research described was carried out principally through face-to-face interviews with the officials of both school systems. The paper first deals with the cultural, historical, and legal background underlying the agreement to allow free choice between systems. Following that is a description of the administrative structure of the two systems and of the alternatives provided. Finally, the causes and consequences of this variation are discussed. Further study is warranted in this area, both to determine the effects of the agreements on the way families choose schools, and on the interacting effects of parental choice, the agreements, and school climate. The situation is also of interest to those concerned with voucher plans because, although not strictly speaking a voucher plan, the degree of freedom of choice present in Saskatoon mimics many such plans. (Author/MLF)

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COOPERATIVE COMPETITION AND FREE CHOICE:

THE RESULTS OF A TWO-SYSTEM

OPEN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT POLICY

A Final Report to the Spencer Foundation

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February, 1981

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I. INTRODUCTION

In this study, we initially set out to investigate a situation in which there was unusually unfettered competition between two school systems. In the city of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, parents and students have a unique opportunity to choose between non-denominational public schools and publicly supported Roman Catholic schools, with no penalties or fees attached to either choice.

Such an arrangement, unheard of in the United States, is perhaps nearly as rare in Canada, although it is comprehensible in the context of Canadian patterns of educational finance, and the regulations governing them. Unlike the United States, Canada has no constitutional barrier to state involvement in religion, or vice versa. Within the Canadian constitution, the British North America Act, is the provision that the provinces may set up publicly funded denominational schools, as well as a provision protecting the right of religious minorities to set up denominational schools.

In most Canadian provinces, legislation permits the formation of such publicly funded denominational, or separate, systems, as they are called. In most instances, the separate systems are affiliated with the Roman Catholic church, but there are exceptions. In areas where Roman Catholics are a majority, the public schools are de facto Catholic schools, and there are separate schools for the Protestant minority. (In Saskatoon, the Roman Catholic school system is designated as the separate system. Therefore, in referring to Saskatoon, the terms "separate" and "Catholic"

will be used interchangeably.)

The BNA Act recognizes only two religious categories for the formation of publicly supported school systems--Roman Catholic and non-Catholic. The laws permit a person's property taxes to support only one school system, public or separate, and each religious group retains the right to tax its own. Thus, as a rule, in provinces permitting the establishment of such dual school systems, a person may enjoy a free, tax-supported education only in the system appropriate to his or her religious affiliation, i.e., the system supported by his or her taxes.

At the local level, however, there are many exceptions. It should be noted that the Canadian legal system, following the British system, places a great deal of reliance on precedent. If a procedure is followed long enough without challenge, it may acquire something akin to the force of law, even though the written law may require something quite different.

In some cities, for example, a parent may send children to schools in the other system upon filing a declaration transferring property taxes to that system. Such a declaration may or may not require a formal renunciation of one's previous religious faith, depending on local custom. In other cities, one may patronize the other system upon payment of tuition.

The various patterns of funding and client affiliation among Canada's five westernmost provinces were the subject of a study by Erickson and Nault under a grant from the Spencer Foundation. During that study, the researchers unearthed the Saskatoon instance of unencumbered choice among systems, the subject of the present report.

In the above-mentioned study, the authors noted that:

> the separate systems in these cities [under study] seem to have gone through two phases in their relationships with the public systems, and may be entering a third. For some time now these systems have existed alongside the public systems without much sense of competition. Resources were adequate, if not ample. High birth rates meant assured high enrollments for both systems. Where formal or informal arrangements permitted Catholics and Protestants to choose between the public or separate systems, crossovers were never so great that they caused either system serious concern. Declining birth rates later resulted in a second phase of relationship. Neither system was assured, in a time of declining enrollment, that it would have sufficient students to keep all schools open and employees active. Families "crossing over" now represented a troubling loss of student numbers. Faced with enrollment declines, the separate . . . school systems had responded by attempting to make their schools more visible and to provide services which would attract and maintain high proportions of Catholic families. This phase of relations may be followed, the data hint, by a third--a phase of competition in which the systems openly seek to attract the families that are within the traditional constituency of the competing system.[1]

At the time of that study, enrollment had in fact declined somewhat in the Saskatoon schools, and it was anticipated that the third stage might have been reached. An agreement allowing free access by families to either school system had been signed in 1970 for the collegiate (secondary) schools, followed in 1973 by a similar agreement concerning the elementary schools.

As Erickson and Nault stated:

> Immediately after the enrollment agreement was first signed . . . the separate (Catholic) system experienced a major loss of Catholic families. . . . In 1975, concerned about enrollment losses, the separate. . . system commissioned a researcher to investigate the reasons for the losses of Catholic families to the public system. The researcher concluded that the separate... system needed to be more visible, and that the distance to some separate schools was regarded by some Catholic families as too great. The system responded to this report by initiating a vigorous campaign of public relations to inform Catholic families about the separate schools. . . . The high schools engaged in a program of recruitment for graduating eighth graders. . . .

> The system expanded transportation services to accommodate parents who felt the separate . . . schools were too far away.[2]

As a result of these and other new programs and policies, to be described in the body of the report, the Catholic schools regained some of the enrollment previously lost. Even many non-Catholics were attracted. Around ten percent of the enrollment in the separate schools was non-Catholic by 1979, at a time when public school enrollments were declining. Observers in the separate school system thought public school authorities were concerned over the loss, and anticipated that the public system would respond by aggressively publicizing its schools as well. One official expressed the fear that such a policy could result in direct competition for students.

As the body of this report bears out, these fears were groundless. So was the anticipation that a third stage of direct competition would be reached. As it happened, the conditions which were expected to precipitate such competition never materialized. Enrollment declines were prevented by an increase in Saskatoon's population. This increase was the product of an economic boomlet, caused by discoveries of large deposits of uranium and potash in the Saskatoon area, coupled with a decision to exploit known deposits of heavy oil nearby. Although the majority of newcomers were not families with school-age children, there are enough new families with children to increase enrollment slightly in the separate system and stabilize enrollment in the public system. (In fact, both systems enjoyed slight increases in September, 1980.)[3]

Moreover, given what we have found, it is difficult to understand

the fear expressed by a separate school administrator that open competition would ensue between the systems for each other's students. Whereas the public schools did in fact mount an aggressive publicity campaign, it, like that of the separate schools, seemed designed to give the public schools greater visibility rather than to attract the normal constituency of the separate schools. Moreover, despite the fact that enrollments were tight, if not declining, the relations between the systems seemed to be unusually cordial, given the apparent pressures toward taking a competitive stance. Central office personnel in both systems acknowledged that there was a degree of competition, but regarded the situation as healthy, and saw great educational benefits resulting from it. In particular, both systems seemed to be emulating each other's successes, with the result that we found an unusual degree of variation among schools in each system. With this variation, resulting from efforts of the two systems to provide the programs and/or services most desired by their constituencies, combined with a freedom of choice between two systems with different educational philosophies and religious orientations, the range of choice afforded to families seemed unusually broad. Those interviewed were prone to remark that the principal consequence of the agreement was that "it keeps you on your toes." They felt that the result was better education for all students in Saskatoon, not just for their own students.

Our inquiries into the nature of the arrangement worked out by the two Saskatoon school systems, its history, and its implementation, suggest that the result is far from a situation of unbridled competition. Indeed,

the agreement whereby the two systems opened their doors to each other's students could only have come about in an atmosphere of cooperation.

Thus, other conceptual frameworks appear to be more appropriate than that of competition to analyze the situation. Among the factors that make the results something other than pure competition are:

* the ability of parents and students to choose freely between systems is a consequence of a working agreement between the two systems; obviously, neither system would have agreed to this arrangement if they felt they would be harmed by it;
* the agreement contains an "escape clause" which may be employed by either party; so far neither party has felt any need to use it;
* there is regular and frequent cooperation between administrators and professionals on one board and their counterparts on the other board;
* the actual administering of the agreement requires each party to assume that the other is acting in good faith;
* teachers in both systems belong to the same professional association; although they do not say so explicitly, both systems appear to recognize the need for each other.

One framework that appears at first glance, to be appropriate is the oligopolistic competition characteristic of advanced capitalism. One can easily see an analog to the present situation in several major U.S. industries, in which a few manufacturers dominate the market, put out a similar range of products at similar prices, and (whether by chance

or by agreement) compete principally for market shares. The degree to which cost is not a factor for consumers, and to which the two systems emulate the most successful of each others' products, fits nicely with this model. So does the tendency of administrators to point with pride to statistics suggesting that their system is more successful than the other at attracting the other's clients (although officials of both systems explicitly disavow this aim).

If we pay close attention to the words that our informants use to characterize the situation, however, it appears to be best described as a friendly rivalry.[4] As we shall see, the unusually great effort devoted to public relations, the apparently unusual degree of responsiveness to parents, the high degree of innovation, the tendency to deny actively recruiting each other's students, and the pride expressed at successfully attracting them, are all at least compatible with this image. We shall return to this theme after the data have been presented.

The principal method of data acquisition was a series of 24 face-to-face interviews, all but two of which were tape recorded, conducted individually and in groups of two, by Jonathan Kamin during the early part of December, 1980. Virtually all the top officials of the public and Catholic boards of education were interviewed, along with the past and present presidents of the Saskatoon Teachers Association (who, conveniently, comprised one teacher from each system and from each level) and the current president of that organization's parent body, the Saskatchewan Teachers Federation (who, conveniently, was also a Saskatoon man). In addition, in order to test some propositions of

interest to the investigators, the principal and three teachers in a Catholic elementary school were also interviewed. Readers may deplore the lack of balance represented by our sample. As we shall see, the latter interviews turned up some unanticipated ideas which would have been worth examining further by direct investigation in the public schools. Unfortunately, our resources did not permit such investigation, and we must leave these questions, which concern school climates in the main, in that honored category of "questions for further research."

In addition to the above groups, one public school teacher and one parent with children in both systems, both of whom happened to cross the investigator's path, were interviewed informally. Needless to say any conclusions must be tentative in the extreme.

Along with face-to-face interviews, many documents were examined. These included the literature which both systems publish to inform parents and the general public of their activities, decisions, etc., but they also included a number of internal memoranda and working papers which the officials of both systems were kind enough to allow us to peruse. Additional information was garnered by surveying all the advertisements placed by both systems in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, the local daily newspaper, and all the news articles therein concerning the schools, for the period from August 25 to September 30, 1980. Points which still remained unclear were discussed with some of the officials interviewed in December via telephone interviews conducted early in February, 1981.

Given the limited time available in which to complete the work, the present study must be viewed as hypothesis-generating, rather than

hypothesis-testing. Indeed, it has uncovered a context which should be quite conducive to further research.

The information compiled herein is of relevance to several fields of educational research. First, given the unusual degree to which family choice is unencumbered by fiscal constraints in Saskatoon, and given the unusual variety from among which families may choose (both systems also permit the choice of any school within the system), the situation is of interest to those concerned with voucher plans. Although not strictly speaking a voucher plan, the degree of freedom of choice present in Saskatoon mimics many such plans.

Secondly, the same conditions make Saskatoon an especially fertile field in which to explore the ways in which parents choose among schools. Although the evidence we have on the point is all second-hand, we have discovered enough to suggest that further inquiry in this area would be extremely worthwhile. The two conditions cited make Saskatoon a setting within which true parent preferences are likely to be expressed and acted upon readily. This is in sharp contrast to most of North America, where the public schools tend to be relatively uniform in structure and curriculum, while other alternatives carry a price tag, often substantial.

Finally, because of the different educational philosophies of the two systems, the agreement to permit free choice developed the latent function of allowing families to choose between different types of school climate, as well as between different modes of religious affiliation and different program opportunities. Thus, further research on school climates in Saskatoon may be quite relevant to the study of school climates

in general, and of their effects on parent choice and student performance in particular.

In the pages that follow, we first deal with the cultural, historical, and legal background underlying the agreement to allow free choice between systems.

Following that is a description of the administrative structure of the two systems and of the alternatives provided. Finally, the causes and consequences of this variation are discussed, or at least speculated upon.

II. THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT

Before we proceed further, we had best make clear the terms of the agreement under discussion. This will be followed by a description of the historical, social, cultural, and legal context within which this agreement was reached.

There are actually two, virtually identical, agreements. The first, signed in 1970, applies to collegiate (secondary) students, and the second, signed in 1973, extends the same privileges to elementary students. The most basic provision is that students from either religious group may attend schools of either system, at their own (or their parents') choice. The enabling legislation was a clause in the 1968 (provincial) School Act, which "makes provision for School Boards to enter into agreements with any other School Board for the education of children."[5] The agreements purportedly were reached by the officers of both boards out of a conviction that parents should have the right to determine the best education for their children.

The 1970 agreement provided for the payment of a uniform annual fee from one school board to the other, on behalf of their students who chose to attend the other system's collegiates. The 1973 agreement made the same provision for elementary students.

The amount of tuition to be paid by one board to the other is the "approved non-resident fee per student as calculated under The School Act and the Regulations under that act being the net cost per student in the Saskatoon School District No. 13."[6] The latter clause is based on the

legal fiction that there are two coterminous school districts, Saskatoon School District No. 13, which is the public school district, and St. Paul's Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 20. One is considered a "resident" of the district to which one pays one's taxes, or, if a renter, of the district appropriate to one's religious affiliation.

The one exception to the tuition fee formula just noted is for students in innovative programs or special education classes. For those students, the tuition fee is "the net cost per student of offering the program (or class) . . . after deducting operational and any special grants received from the Government of Saskatchewan or any other source."[7] Thus, the tuition fee in this case represents only those costs not covered by the provincial government, as calculated for public school students in the city.

The agreement states that if a parent or guardian declares school support for either district, that district has the legal responsibility to educate the child. And if the taxpayer "at the time of registering his child or children or any one of them in a school . . ."[8] declares himself to be of the Roman Catholic faith or of a non-Catholic faith, then the responsibility for educating the child follows that declaration. Thus one's religious affiliation, for educational purposes, may be declared in either of two ways. If one owns property, one's property taxes must be paid to only one of the two school districts. Due to a wrinkle in the local laws, property is automatically assumed to the public school district unless the owner declares otherwise, and any property sold reverts to the public board on the first of the following year, barring a

declaration of separate school support by the new owner. Renters, however, pay no property tax, so their declaration of faith is made at the time of entering a child into school. So, for example, if a non-Catholic renter enters a child in Kindergarten in a Catholic school, and declares his or her faith as non-Catholic at that time, it is the responsibility of the public school district to pay that child's tuition, and vice versa.[9]

According to the agreement, principals in the various schools are to compile a roll of students covered by the agreement by September 30 of each year, and forward it to the director of their system by October 10. The systems are then required to verify these rolls, "combined into a single nominal roll for the school system,"[10] and tuition payments are calculated on the basis of this roll, with costs adjusted for the various levels. This roll is updated monthly, and payments are made in ten monthly installments during the school year.

In practice, the work is a bit more complicated. Although the law requires that property taxes be declared consistent with one's religion, this law is not strictly enforced. Many persons who opt for the other school system also transfer their taxes to that system, although this is not required. Indeed, one of the purposes of the agreement was to make such tax transfers unnecessary. However, before the agreement was signed, tax transfer was the principal means by which one could obtain an education from the other system.

Thus, not everyone whose school declaration shows them to be of a given religion actually pays taxes to the appropriate school system. As a result, a great deal of administrative time is taken in searching

the tax rolls to verify the tax status of those on the "nominal roll." This is necessary because, e.g., the nominal roll for September, 1980 shows 3168 Roman Catholic students in the public school system, but 1162.5 of them come from homes that are declared as public school tax supporters.

Finally, the agreement contains a provision allowing either party to terminate the agreement at the end of the school year by giving 90 days' notice.

III. THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

There are many features of the history and culture of both the province of Saskatchewan and the city of Saskatoon that have provided a social context in which an agreement such as the one just described would be possible. Many observers have stressed a strong tendency toward cooperation as a social foundation of the province. Robin Farquhar, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Saskatchewan, says, "the cooperative spirit is very strong here." This point was also stressed by several public school administrators. They referred to the fact that the province was frontier territory quite recently (Saskatchewan became a province in 1905). On the unsettled plains, cooperation was a necessary fact of life--there was no way to raise a barn, or even farm, without the support and assistance of one's neighbors; medical care might be three hours away at best, necessitating further cooperation, etc.

There is also a strong emphasis on cooperation in the formal structure of the province. The provincial cabinet includes a Minister of Co-operation and Co-operative Development. The forerunner of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Wheat Producers, one of the largest such organizations, was founded in 1901, even before Saskatchewan became a province.[11] The province is second only to Quebec in the number of Co-operative Marketing and Purchasing Associations, with a much smaller population than the latter province, and has the highest total membership in such organizations of any province. As of 1957, 559,330 persons

belonged to such cooperatives, more than twice the number in Alberta, the province with the next highest rate of membership.[12]

The provincial government was also the first to lean toward socialism, acquiring title to its natural resources in 1930. In the same vein, the province was the first to have public hospitalization insurance, in 1946, and the first with provincially administered medical insurance, in 1962.[13]

Another factor working in favor of the agreement is the ethnic-cultural-historical nature of Canada. Being a member of the British Commonwealth, the Canadian government does not have the bars to establishment of religion present in the U.S. Constitution (when we explained that provision of the U.S. Constitution to some Catholic school teachers in Saskatoon, they were shocked at the idea). Canada also has what several administrators called "the French fact." The French minority has been present in Canada from its inception, and provision had to be made for the French language and the Catholic religion as a result. Thus, the BNA act apparently not only provides for two official languages, but provides for the possibility of state-supported minority education. The actual provision of educational services is left to the provinces, and some do not in fact provide separate education. However, the fact that the possibility exists is a distinct difference from the situation in the U. S.

Another factor is the apparent "non-litigiousness" of Canadians, relative to Americans. Canadians are apparently much less inclined than Americans to bring lawsuits. There are many issues in the agreement

which are technically in violation of law at one level or another, and which, if challenged would probably be invalidated. But on most of these issues, no one has raised the challenge. In fact, we were informed by at least one administrator that the provincial Ministry of Education is aware of the agreement, has approved it, and is watching the results closely, even though technically the agreement violates the provincial law requiring Catholics to be educated in separate schools where available and vice versa.

This latter factor(non-litigiousness) may be relevant as well to the fact that, in many Saskatchewan public school systems, the Lord's Prayer is used as an opening exercise, and Jewish children apparently participate without complaint, sometimes even leading the prayer. This would probably not happen in the U.S. without at least a great deal of grumbling.

Yet another historical factor which has made this agreement possible is Vatican II. Among the changes that this brought about of relevance to the agreement: (a) the doctrine that "outside the Church there is no salvation" was at least modified, so that Catholics and non-Catholics might attend each other's churches; (b) the spirit of ecumenism was stressed; (c) the possibility was raised that the Catholic school curriculum might be liberalized. The results, specifically in Saskatoon, included the use of the "Come to the Father" program of religious education in place of the Baltimore Catechism. The new program, which is a Canadian catechism, stresses the principles of Christian living, rather than the dogmas of the Catholic Church. In keeping with that program,

students lead spontaneous prayers whenever they feel they are appropriate, rather than reciting specified prayers at specified times of day, and there are other similar changes.

Thus, whatever the barriers against non-Catholics attending Catholic schools erected by the Catholic Church, they have been removed. Concomitantly, with the de-emphasis on Catholic dogma and its replacement by principles of Christian living, many parents seeking a Christian education for their children do not feel particularly discomfited in the setting of Saskatoon separate schools. (The only Christian group which has established a private school in Saskatoon is the Seventh-Day Adventists, although other groups have apparently tried to get some special provisions, as will be noted below.)

This all is not to minimize the uniqueness of the situation in Saskatoon. Apparently, according to one informant, Regina considered a similar agreement and turned it down. And Edmonton, in neighboring Alberta, has a history of bitterly contested litigation between the public and separate school systems.

Saskatoon does have a number of other advantages as well. The bulk of the settlers came from the British Isles, the United States, and elsewhere in Canada, early in the twentieth century. From the period of early settlement until quite recently, the most of the population increase has been due to natural increase, rather than migration. The population has thus been relatively homogeneous. The city is also relatively isolated, and thus insulated by its geography from many of the more disturbing social currents that have swept through other parts

of North America, including fashions in education, according to two informants.

Another informant stressed the idea that Saskatoon had an unusually high degree of religious tolerance:

> The degree of religious tolerance in this city, I suspect, is very, very high--well, I know it's very, very high. They have indicated there's not a whole lot of discrimination on a religious basis among anyone. For example, we handle all of the purchasing and we don't try to determine if the supplier is Catholic or not Catholic; we don't try to determine if they pay their taxes to us or not. We simply try to establish what's the best price for the best service. . . . In either system I might expect you'd find the same sort of feeling . . . of pride in the fact that we are like this in Saskatoon.

Thus, while we would be loathe to conclude that such an atmosphere of cooperation exists nowhere else, or that an agreement such as that signed by the two Saskatoon school systems could exist nowhere else, it seems clear that there are many factors present in Saskatoon that are conducive to the cooperative atmosphere necessary for such an agreement to work.

IV. THE LEGAL AND FINANCIAL CONTEXT

The educational situation in both the province of Saskatchewan and the city of Saskatoon went through a number of changes over time. These changes appear to have been necessary in order to create the context in which the formal agreement became possible. Changes occurred not only in the laws governing school administration and finance, but in the operating arrangements at both the provincial and local level. For convenience, these are discussed together.

At the time provincial status was granted to Saskatchewan in 1905, there were already over 900 school districts in existence, including a number of separate school districts. "In accordance with the Dominion statute creating the province, the first Saskatchewan legislature continued provision for the establishment of separate schools by a minority of the ratepayers [taxpayers] in any community, in which case such ratepayers were liable only to assessment of such rates as they imposed upon themselves."[14] Although separate schools existed before Saskatchewan became a province, it was generally too expensive to maintain separate school districts in rural areas. By the mid-1960s, after a program of consolidation took place, there were only 45 separate school districts, of which 7 were Protestant and the remainder Roman Catholic.

The principle of provincial equalization grants to school districts was established in 1939. Prior to that time there had been flat-rate grants. The equalization grants were made on a per-classroom or per-teacher basis. In order to calculate the size of the grant, the tax

base of an entire municipality was used. Thus, in cities such as Saskatoon, which had two school systems, the tax base of both systems was pooled. This arrangement tended to work to the detriment of the separate systems, since the public system generally had a disproportionate share of the tax base relative to its population, perhaps because the (generally Catholic) separate school supporters tended to have larger families, and thus larger numbers of persons per household.[15] In Saskatoon, where Catholics represented about 30 percent of the population, but the separate schools represented about 25 percent of the tax base, the separate school system was proportionately disfavored in the equalization grants. This occurred because the provincial grants formula assumed that the tax base was proportional to the population. Since it was not, the final, "equalized," funding level was actually lower than intended, since the provincial money was added to a sum substantially lower than the formula assumed.

The separate schools were further hampered by the fact that, as a minority system, they could not raise the tax rate on their (smaller) tax base any higher than that levied on the public school supporters, or they would run a substantial risk of losing students to the public school system (it being relatively easy, despite the law, to switch).

These circumstances changed in 1971, when the provincial Foundation Grants Act was passed. This act changed the formula so that grants were equalized on a per-pupil basis. Spokesmen in both systems agree that this change enabled education in the Catholic schools to equal that in the public schools in quality for the first time.

There were other legal and administrative changes that were important precursors to the agreement as well. Prior to 1960, there were three school boards in Saskatoon: a public elementary board, which administered grades K-8, a public collegiate board, which administered the secondary schools, and a separate school board, which was authorized by provincia 1 law to operate only elementary schools, defined in the province as through grade 8. There were also two private Catholic high schools, each administered by a different religious order, which charged tuition for their services.

At that time, all taxpayers, whether public or separate school supporters, paid an additional tax to the public collegiate board, which had sole responsibility for secondary education. Since the private Catholic high schools were not authorized to collect taxes, however, neither was the public collegiate board authorized to pay tuition to them.

In 1960, provincial legislation permitted the operation of tax-supported separate high schools for the first time. By 1964, the Saskatoon Catholic School District had taken over the two formerly private Catholic high schools. Rather than tax its constituency to support them however, the district elected to have the public collegiate board pay tuition for the students enrolled in them.
The amount of tuition was negotiated annually by the two boards.

In 1965, the public collegiates instituted a policy of "open boundaries," that is, a policy under which students in the system could choose to attend any of the public collegiates, rather than the one

nearest their home. This was to prove an important precedent.

In April, 1966, the public elementary and collegiates were placed under the control of a single director. The process was completed in January, 1971, when the two public boards merged into a single system, in the interests of efficiency, economy, and articulation. At that point, the structure and funding of the two systems, public and separate, were parallel, so that negotiations could proceed on an equal footing.

Several informants have suggested that, in practice, the agreements were a logical extension of the situation that existed prior to their signing. The practice of the separate board in collecting a tuition fee from the public board for all its collegiate students obviously served as a precedent.

Although we were not able to obtain figures, there was apparently some degree of crossover prior to the agreement, on the order of between 3 and 10 percent of the student population. By law under the School Act, and its successor, the 1978 Education Act, if a person wants to have his or her children educated in the school system to which they are not assigned, they have three options: (a) pay tuition; (b) get their legally assigned school system to pay tuition for them; (c) go to city hall, renounce their religion, declare that they are now supporters of the religion appropriate to the preferred school system, and ask to have their taxes transferred to the other system. In practice this law has not been followed strictly in Saskatoon. As far as we can determine, what happened prior to the agreements was that parents wishing the other education for their children would simply ask at city hall to have their

taxes transferred, and, in contrast to such other Canadian cities as Calgary and Edmonton, no issue was made of renouncing their religion.

When the principle of "open boundaries" was extended to the public elementary schools in 1972, the idea that one ought to attend the school nearest home was, at least for public school supporters, rejected in principle. It thus appears that extending the privilege to the other publicly supported system in the same city might appear a small additional step in the same direction. The picture was completed by the adoption of an "open boundary" policy by the Catholic schools some time between 1973 and 1975 (apparently they sort of drifted into the policy, so there is no clear starting date).

At present, the agreement permits parents to choose any school in whichever system they prefer, without incurring any additional costs or renouncing their religion, and enroll their children. While there are no barriers whatsoever to enrollment in public schools, the Catholic system does require non-Catholic parents to sign a declaration agreeing that their children will participate in the full program of education in the Catholic schools, including religious education. The Catholic schools will refuse to admit non-Catholics who do not sign this declaration. According to separate school officials, no law authorizes the separate schools to require this declaration, but no law forbids it, either.

A close reading of the 1978 Education Act, however, indicates that (a) any publicly supported school may provide religious education, provided that this instruction takes no more than 2-1/2 hours per week, and that (b) any parent may request to have his or her child excused from

such instruction. Thus there are grounds upon which this requirement of the Catholic schools might be challenged.[16] As yet, no such challenge has been made. However, it was suggested by one official that if a court prohibited the Catholic schools from requiring this declaration, the enrollment agreement would be terminated.

(It is noteworthy that the public school board has been under some pressure to make use of this provision as well. Apparently in response to some religious groups that were considering disaffecting to form new private schools, the public school system considered introducing a "Christian Ethics" course as an elective at the secondary level. The course was being given serious consideration when a Jewish group protested that as a public school system, the system should not favor any sectarian group, and that it would be a violation of trust to include such a course. One informant indicated that Moslem, Hindu, and Buddhist groups also protested. As a result, the course was not adopted. This may be a factor in driving some committed Christians into the separate schools or into forming their own schools.)

V. FUNDING ARRANGEMENTS

In the study conducted by Erickson and Nault,[17] some teachers described Catholic schools in Saskatoon as superior to public schools in the same city. When asked to explain the purported superiority, the teachers attributed it to a lower level of tax support, suggesting that the disadvantage made Catholic educators try harder.

As the following discussion shows, Catholic school leaders in Saskatoon must make special efforts to ensure that their schools will not be disadvantaged financially, but these efforts have apparently succeeded. It is only in the sense of needing to maintain this special effort that the Catholic schools are fiscally disadvantaged at present. Perhaps it is the need of this special effort that teachers had in mind when they spoke of a fiscal disadvantage.

The separate system has about 2/5 the enrollment of the public system. However, its budget is proportionately larger, being equal to 44.4 percent of the public school budget.

The principal sources of revenue are local taxes and provincial grants. In the public school system, provincial grants comprise 39 percent of the total budget for 1980 (the proportion has been declining from a high of 44 percent in 1976), while local taxes comprise half, the remainder coming from other sources.

In the separate system, in 1979 (the last year for which figures are available), provincial grants represented 52 percent of the total, with local taxes representing 39 percent. (For that year 46 percent of

the public school budget came from local taxes, while 42 percent was from provincial grants.)

As noted above, provincial grants are equal per pupil, and economic realities have required that the tax rate for the separate schools be at or below that of the public schools.[18] A homeowner may be taxed only for one school system, following provincial law.[19] However, as mentioned, the onus (their word) is on separate school supporters to declare, and taxes on any property sold revert to the public school system unless a declaration of separate school support is filed by the owner. (Tax declaration forms appear in Appendix B.)

The onus has further consequences. Business and industrial property taxes are also divided. Before 1979, such taxes were collected in a block by the city government and divided proportionally to the homeowner taxes. Since 1979, businesses have the right to declare their taxes for one system or the other, or to divide them.

The form on which such declarations are made allows for the options of declaring that all the shareholders are public school supporters, that all are separate school supporters, that the taxes be declared in proportion to the ratio of Catholic to non-Catholic shareholders or partners, or that it is impossible to determine the ratio. For corporations not having share capital, the directors may declare a portion of their taxes for the separate schools. One of the separate system's fiscal officers has made an effort to have businesses which have not reviewed their tax status since the change in the law do so. A letter by this officer, dated January 16, 1980 suggests that, where it is

impossible to determine the ratio of public to separate school supporters, a division of 75 percent to the public schools and 25 percent to the separate schools would be equitable.[20]

It is noteworthy that the form of making such declaration includes the following notice, in capital letters:

> If notice is not received, assessment will be divided for the purposes of the separate school division and the public school division on the same ratio of assessments of persons other than companies.[21]

This means that, given an especially successful campaign to secure corporate declarations on the part of the separate school system, if public-school-supporting businesses were not as conscientious about declaring, it is conceivable that the Catholic schools could end up with more than their share of business tax dollars--their proportional share of undeclared taxes, plus the declared portion.

Of course, if, as suggested earlier, the Catholic portion of the tax base is small in proportion to the Catholic population, this is not likely to happen. Since the separate system's tax rate must remain at or below the public school tax rate to avoid defections, the separate system may indeed be fiscally disadvantaged.

The fiscal officer of the separate system, following system policy, makes strenuous efforts to secure the tax declarations of Catholic homeowners. Letters (a copy of which appears in Appendix A) are sent to new Catholic arrivals in Saskatoon apprising them of the onus. New enrollees are also notified via letter if a search of the tax rolls reveals them to be public school supporters, but their declaration of faith upon

enrollment (which appears in Appendix C) shows them to be Catholic. The system has specially printed postcards which are sent to thank Catholic homeowners for filing the declaration. Efforts are made to inform Catholics with no children in school of the necessity for tax declarations via advertisements in parish bulletins and announcements from the pulpit. Occasionally parish priests and neighborhood principals may give of their knowledge of the community to help identify Catholic households which are not properly declared, and parish priests may request to see the listing of Catholic students from their parish who are enrolled in public schools. The local lawyers are periodically requested by the separate school board to inform their Catholic clients of the need for tax declarations, particularly when purchasing a house.

Although these general efforts are made to reach Catholics who may not have children enrolled in the Catholic schools, no direct approaches are made to Catholics who may have their children in public schools and appear on the tax rolls as public school supporters. The fiscal officer points out that:

> . . . at least on the tax thing we can legally [take a person to court] but no one <u>ever</u> goes to court on challenges of that kind in this day and age.

This officer stressed the importance of tax declarations for several reasons. He was one of the few persons interviewed who appeared to be concerned by the fact that transferring one's taxes was against the law, and saw one of the principal advantages of the enrollment agreements as being that one could now send one's children to whichever system one preferred <u>without</u> violating the law by transferring taxes. Perhaps more

important, he stressed the point that "you've only got the kid for 12 or 13 years, but taxes go on for a long time."

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the budget figures for both school systems. If the total budget of each system is divided by the number of pupils enrolled, the per-pupil expenditure level is $3396.78 in the separate schools and $2191.54 in the public schools.

Both systems make efforts to increase their revenues by initiating high-cost special programs for which special provincial grants are available; e.g., bilingual education and native education.

For some time, salaries for teachers have been standardized at the provincial level. The provincial Department of Education negotiates directly with the Saskatchewan Teachers Federation, freeing the local boards from this responsibility. Although the actual pay of the teachers in the separate system is slightly lower than that in the public system, the pay scale is the same. The discrepancy is the result of the fact that pay is based on length of service and educational qualifications. Before the days of equal funding, the separate system was forced to hire teachers who were less highly qualified in terms of academic preparation, and some of these teachers are still "in place." It is expected that within ten years, salaries in the two systems will be about equal.

It is worth noting that salaries have been fixed at the same levels for the entire province. The intention was to assure that students anywhere in the province would have equal access to equally qualified teachers. The result has been somewhat different from the expectation, however. In Saskatoon and Regina (the two largest cities, and also the

TABLE 1

PUBLIC SCHOOL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES FOR YEAR ENDED DEC. 31, 1979 AND THE PROJECTED 1980 BUDGET[22]

Revenues	1979 Actual	1980 Budget
Taxes	$20,377,499	$23,487,546
Dept. of Ed. Grants	17,785,577	17,946,798
Replenishment of Reserves	369,502	493,699
Tuition Fees	4,014,576	4,350,018
Adult Education	198,506	194,995
Cafeteria	85,856	93,484
Other Revenue	784,479	655,000
TOTAL	$43,565,994	$47,221,540

Expenditures	1979 Actual	1980 Budget
Administration	$ 1,034,349	$ 1,046,555
Instruction	30,901,299	34,379,857
Plant Operation & Maintenance	5,741,718	6,049,743
Adult Education	173,067	210,495
Cafeteria	102,681	114,009
Contribution to Capital	282,725	---
Debt Charges	2,762,128	2,704,044
Driver Education	219,024	236,100
Tuition Fee Payments	216,537	1,305,852
Contingency Reserve Fund	761,921	743,699
Pupil Transportation	370,545	431,186
TOTAL	$43,565,994	$47,221,540

EXPLANATORY NOTES: Instruction: Teachers' salaries, materials and equipment; Tuition Fee Payments: Fees for students attending other school systems; Debt charges: Current interest and debenture charges; Contribution to Capital: Current share for new construction and major renovation.

TABLE 2

SEPARATE SCHOOL REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES FOR YEAR ENDED DEC. 31, 1979[23]

Revenues	
Department of Education Grants	$ 9,555,931
Property and Business Taxes	7,064,725
Fee Receipts (Non-Resident Student Tuition)	1,318,033
High School Cafeteria	131,921
Other Revenue	271,834
TOTAL REVENUE	$18,342,444
Expenditures	
Instruction	$10,988,134
Payments to Other Boards	3,212,617
Plant Operation and Maintenance	1,919,355
Debt Charges	1,207,601
Contributions to Capital	319,894
Administration	176,000
High School Cafeteria	135,839
Student Transportation	115,879
Driver Training	55,965
TOTAL CURRENT EXPENDITURE	$18,131,293
SURPLUS FOR YEAR	211,151
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	$18,342,444

teacher training centers), the ratio of applications to positions is approximately 30 to 1, whereas some rural areas are hard put to find applicants for their vacancies.

The Education Act requires that local Boards of Education receive approval from the provincial Department for the construction of all new schools and for major renovation projects, as well as site selection and building plans, so that even if funds are available, school location and expansion are not entirely in the hands of the local boards.

VI. THE PRESENT CHARACTER OF THE TWO SYSTEMS

Both systems operate both elementary and collegiate (secondary) schools. In both systems, policy is made by a Board of Education, which is elected by that system's taxpayers, and by renters of the appropriate religious affiliation.[24] The boards appoint the Director of Education, who is responsible for carrying out policy, and who is the chief professional adviser to the board. Annual board meetings are open to the public.

Basic curriculum for both systems (and, indeed, for all schools in the province, whether public, separate, or private) is established by the Department of Education. Thus, except for special elective programs available in some of the schools, the only difference between the two systems on the level of specified curriculum is that the separate system makes use of the 2-1/2 hours per week permitted in all schools by the Education Act for a program of religious studies. The program in use, Come to the Father, is described as a relatively liberal Canadian catechism (also used fairly widely in the U.S.), stressing principles of Christian living. Both board officials and teachers, however, stress that religious education involves more than catechism. They argue that what makes the Catholic schools different is "the value dimension," as demonstrated by the use of material from any subject field to teach moral lessons and Christian principles. At least one public board official, however, hotly contests the Catholic schools' pre-emption of the term "values," arguing that all education is value-laden, and that

the principles taught in the separate schools are not radically different from those in the public schools, most of whose students and staff are at least nominally Christian.

Size and Physical Plant

As of September 1980, the public system operated 44 elementary schools and 7 collegiates (high schools), including one elementary school opened in September 1980. (Two more elementary schools are planned for September 1981.) While the system's enrollment is stabilizing, the population of Saskatoon, and particularly the population of parents of school-age children, is leaving the downtown area and moving to outlying parts of the city. This movement has produced a decline in school enrollment in the older areas of Saskatoon. Since it is board policy to provide neighborhood schools, some of the older schools must be closed, while new ones are built in the developing areas. (The Catholic board is affected by the same pressures, and is also closing some schools and opening others.)

Enrollment in the public system was 13,716 elementary students and 7,450 secondary students as of September 1980.[25] In addition, there were 386 special students.

In terms of program opportunities (which will be discussed more fully below), the public system strives to equalize opportunities among the elementary schools, so that children can attend their neighborhood school and get whatever they need. Some services for the severely handicapped are present only in some schools, and one school deals with

those students so severely handicapped that they cannot be handled without special facilities. Separate school parents who need these services send their children to that school; the separate school board, which is responsible for the child's education, "buys the service" from the public board.

The seven collegiates (high schools) in the public system are purported to be highly differentiated. Two are "comprehensive" schools with strong vocational programs; one school, Riverview Collegiate, is described by one official as being for the "academically disenchanted;" another official describes Riverview as being geared for "low achievers," as opposed to underachievers. The four remaining collegiates are all academically oriented. Two offer the traditional non-semestered program and the other two offer semestered programs. One of them is very small and has a journalism option. That school's classes are, however, the same size as those in the other schools, because the board tries to maintain a constant teacher-pupil ratio throughout the system.

It is worth noting that both systems regard themselves as "proactive rather than reactive" in providing options. They try to anticipate demand and cater to it, rather than sit back and wait for parents to ask for programs. However, the public system officials suggested that the programs for the handicapped arose in response to parent demand.

The separate system operates 26 elementary and 4 secondary schools. Two of the secondary schools are regular collegiates. A third, Sion High School, is designed, according to one official, to cater to a "low achiever" clientele similar to that of Riverview. It is described in the

Catholic school's literature as "a special education school which offers basic academic, vocational, and social skill programs. It also features a Work Experience Program, as well as services for home-bound students."[26] The fourth Catholic secondary school is a special school for native Indians, the "Native Survival School," operated in conjunction with a parent group. It will be discussed in greater detail below.

The separate system closed one elementary school in 1979, and another in 1980. A third will close in 1981, at the end of the present school year. Two new schools will open in September 1981, due to the same population shifts discussed above. Another new elementary school was planned for construction during 1981, but as of the 1980 Annual Report, approval had not been granted by the province's Department of Education. Moreover, the Separate School board has asked for, and was denied, approval for a new high school with a special orientation.

A senior board official admitted that the Catholic system did not have the enrollment to justify a third high school, but pointed out that, because of projected location, it would have some natural clientele, and that in addition, it would be a designated bilingual school (explained below) and would house the International Baccalaureate Program, a special program for students "who are very serious about academics." Both of these programs are expected to draw substantial enrollment. Approval will be requested annually until it is granted.

Enrollment in the Catholic system presently comprises 3795 elementary students and 2320 secondary students, with an additional 51 in special education. The Native Survival School is included in the

secondary figure. For convenience of comparison, the enrollment figures for the two systems are summarized in Table 3.

TABLE 3

RELATIVE SIZES OF THE SASKATOON SCHOOL SYSTEMS
SEPTEMBER, 1980

Types of School	Number of Students	Number of Schools
PUBLIC		
Elementary	13,716	43
Secondary	7,450	6
Special	386	2[a]
Total	21,552	51
SEPARATE		
Elementary	3,795	26
Secondary	2,281	2
Special	51	1[b]
Native Survival	59	1
Total	6,186	30

[a]Includes Walter Murray elementary school for the severely handicapped, and Riverview Collegiate, not considered a special school by the public board.

[b]Sion High School, not considered a "collegiate." Enrollment 162.

Administrative Structure and Philosophy

Of the two boards, the public board seems to be the more centralized and bureaucratic. The public board has four superintendents under the director: a Superintendent of Elementary Schools, a Superintendent of Secondary Schools, a Superintendent of Planning, Development, and Research, and a Superintendent of Business and Administration. There is also an executive assistant. The apparently greater centralization may be due to the relatively large size of the system, to the historical roots of administrator training in public systems, to the need for prudential authority, or to other factors.

Our evidence of greater centralization in the public system is largely anecdotal. In the course of field investigation, some grumblings were heard from teachers concerning the autocratic behavior of a central office administrator. A policy of arbitrary assignment of teachers to new schools, ostensibly to cope with enrollment shifts, caused a great deal of discontent, and became a matter of concern for the Saskatoon Teachers Association.

There was also an incident reported by a Catholic school principal concerning a parent who transferred from the public school because she was unhappy with the child's teacher. When the Catholic school principal asked the parent why she didn't ask for a different room assignment, she said "They [the public school officials] just wouldn't do it." A public board official, however, assured us that public school principals did have the authority to make such shifts, and made them often, providing there was another room at the same grade level in the school. He

also indicated that under the board's policy, individual school principals had "a broad range of discretionary authority."

There are, however, several areas in which the public system is clearly more centralized than the Catholic system. At least two of them have to do with the matter of student assignment. Whereas the separate system appears to leave school choice entirely in the hands of parents, the public system makes deliberate efforts to guide that choice in a number of ways.

This seems to be due in part to a difference in philosophical orientation by the two boards. The public board deliberately puts a great deal of emphasis on program options, attempting to take care of every special need (the creation of the handicapped programs, and their placement in mainstream schools, were done in response to parent wishes), providing extensive counseling services to see to it that students are appropriately placed. As discussed below, the public board was innovative in creating program options even before the agreements were signed. Its main emphasis, therefore, is on appropriate program choice, with a secondary emphasis on integration--the idea that students with special needs should not be segregated from the rest of the student body. One administrator expressed the idea that "every kid is special," and suggested that the consequence of that was that teachers had to constantly ask themselves, "what is the most appropriate way to teach this child?"

In keeping with this orientation, transfers between schools or programs at times other than the beginning of a semester are discouraged, and must be approved by a superintendent. It was suggested that the

only reasons a transfer might be disapproved, however, were inappropriate program choice or lack of room at the preferred school. The schools do not keep waiting lists, so a parent who is denied entry to a chosen school outside his home neighborhood for reasons of space may only try again the following year. No more than six schools are likely to be affected by the space limitation in any given year.

The official who provided the information on transfer policy in the public system made a point of describing system-initiated transfers, as well:

> . . . rather than suspend or expel a student from the school, we suggest that if a student was in some difficulty in a certain situation, that he really cannot stay in that situation, . . . and therefore we advise them that we have an alternative, and that is that he must go to another school, and that school would be either one that we would choose for him or it would be one of two that we would select for him. Consequently we take some pride in the fact that we rarely ever expel a student from our system.
>
> . . . the students also know that they've got a second chance. I mean, they're told in no uncertain terms, "This is your second chance, man, I mean you've already gone through one school and one set of teachers and one principal, and look, you're gonna do it right in this school or you're in trouble, you're finished, man," and by the time they get to the second school . . . they know which end's up.

When asked, a separate system administrator indicated that their system rarely, if ever, expelled any students. The emphasis, he said, was on suspension, during which time inquiries would be made to clarify the situation, and if possible, work out a solution. No mention was made of any such "second chance" policy.

Another area of centralization in the public board is a policy under which principals of the collegiates (high schools), when addressing

the elementary students, or at system-wide "parent nights" open to all who are interested (including separate school parents), are expected to represent the entire public system, rather than their particular school or program, in order to make students and parents aware of the full range of options available. One official indicated that this policy was difficult to enforce, especially in schools or program with declining enrollment:

> Yeah, we even have trouble with our own principals getting caught up in the human dimension of trying to protect a program or staff or a something.

The separate school board has two Associate Directors under the director: an Associate Director of Administrative Services, who supervises a Superintendent of Business Administration, and an Associate Director of Educational Services, who supervises two Superintendents of Schools, as in the public system. In addition, a Superintendent of Support Services answers directly to the Director.

Although evidence available to the investigators that supported the proposition was extremely sketchy, Catholic school administrators were quite convinced that their system was less centralized and more flexible. If this is so, it may be accounted for, at least in part, by the traditions of Catholic Education in North America.[27] On the other hand, if real, the decentralization may be largely attributable to smaller size, or to the personalities of the principal administrators. Apparently the director of the Catholic system believes in "open" administration, with input from all possible relevant sources, on principle, and believes in local autonomy. He talked about:

> a philosophy of administration and . . . operations that does permit a fair degree of flexibility and openness . . . commitment to the purposes of the organization, the ideals of the institution . . .
>
> . . . There is a frankness that characterizes many of our discussions about some of the most important issues. . . . That was not the case at one time. Maybe at one time the fact that this did not exist acted as a bit of an obstacle to the progress that we wanted to make. It changed because we went through a significant administrative reorganization and we have people in the most senior jobs who belong in those senior jobs in terms of their professional and personal capabilities. And also, I suppose, in terms of them--this tuning in on the same wave length that I refer to as the part openness and flexibility and so on.

The policy of delegating a great deal of authority to the principal has resulted in a fair degree of variation in school climates in the separate system. In particular, this policy has made it possible for particularly strong, charismatic principals to create a few highly visible schools that attract many non-Catholics because of the quality of their climates.

As another indication of decentralization, rather than trying to assure the presence of the same programs in all schools, the separate system has made efforts to differentiate its elementary schools. Unlike the public system, which, with its emphasis on program, attempts to place elements of all their programs in all their schools, at least at the elementary level, the separate system puts each of its programs in only a few schools.

One aspect of this policy is attempting to avoid closing down schools that are losing enrollment. Catholic school leaders try to put special programs in schools with declining enrollment to see if they can reverse the trend by turning the school into a "magnet" that will attract

students from all over the city. Sometimes the strategy works and sometimes it doesn't. A school with a fine arts orientation is flourishing, while another, with a strong emphasis on academics, eventually closed down, as it failed to attract the requisite enrollments.

In the face of small or declining enrollments, the separate system is not averse to placing students from several grades in a single classroom. Indeed, the annual report indicates that new K-8 schools are often built with only 5 or 6 classrooms. Both systems make extensive use of "portables" (temporary classrooms built out of quonset hut material), and even trailers, to deal with changes in enrollment, adding them as enrollments increase and removing them as they decline. Department of Education approval is not required for the addition or removal of portables, as it is for major construction.

The Catholic system also seems to be somewhat more accommodating in the matter of transfers. There is no formalized procedure. Ordinarily, the parent will first consult with the principal of the preferred school, to ascertain whether that school has the qualities being sought, and whether there is room. After obtaining that principal's approval (and nobody suggested that it was ever denied), the parent then informs the principal at the old school that the transfer will occur. The principal at the incoming school handles all the paperwork.

In contrast to the strong program emphasis of the public system, the separate system seems to want to stress the idea that, as one official put it, "we <u>care</u> about kids." The idea was not clearly articulated, but many people expressed attitudes suggesting that warmth,

love, caring, and the like were the principal emphases stressed in the Catholic schools. (One teacher noted that this was a marked contrast to the days before Vatican II mentioning that "before, it was all Hell and damnation; now we teach love.")

In place of the apparent broad variety of programs offered by the public schools, the separate system provides more of what might be called personal services. They provide noon-hour supervision for students, whereas the public schools virtually require that elementary students return home for lunch, with a few exceptions. They open the doors of the schools an hour or so before classes start, so that children whose parents are employed outside the home have a place to go. They say they provide more extensive transportation services (although this is true only to a limited degree) to make it easier for parents to put their children in any school they want. One effect of these services is to attract many parents who need those services because of their employment situation, regardless of their "antecedent preference" for one type of school or the other.

The public school administrators admit that if they provided these services they would attract back quite a few public school supporters whose children are in the separate system but public school officials have deliberately directed their energy toward program options instead.

There is some anecdotal evidence as well that the separate system's teachers are more likely than those in the public system to make special efforts to help students who are not doing well academically.

"Under-the-Wing" Arrangements

Both systems engage in an activity which they describe as "taking under the wing." This refers to "giving a home" to educational groups providing alternatives to the regular program, and may involve a variety of fiscal and administrative arrangements. One thing this seems to indicate is that the Saskatoon school systems are not as rule-bound as most American school systems.

The French School is a case in point. The school was founded by parents desiring true bilingual education for their children, organized as The French School Society. They began as a private school, were "taken under the wing" of the separate system, and now enjoy a unique status. The "under the wing" arrangement with the separate schools was described by one separate school administrator as follows:

> . . . what we did there was--we monitored the program in the school, visited and evaluated the teachers. They did the--they had their own society. It was a--it can't be a school board if they're independent, so they come under the Societies Act so that they can get insurance and all that kind of thing. And . . . we pass assessments on to them. They would make . . . the final decision in terms of hiring. . . . Down the line what happens is you recommend people to them and they accept your recommendations. You know, once there is some sort of trust relationship there. They have . . . parents' committees and this sort of thing for curriculum base but we provided . . . the expertise to them, consultant services and that. That ran from . . . about 1970 to 1978 and then we negotiated a divorce with them. They went on their own as an independent school.

This school offers a total immersion French program in grades K through 8. At present, the secondary continuation of that program is a

three-credit program housed in one of the Catholic collegiates.

Further inquiry into the French School's fiscal arrangements revealed that under provincial law, only two bodies, the public and separate school boards, were authorized to collect property taxes for schools. The French School Society, not so authorized, therefore received no share of local property taxes, which its members, however, paid to whichever board was appropriate to their religious affiliation. By affiliating with the separate system, the school received all normal provincial funding, plus special grants for bilingual education, as well as free use of space. Parents paid a small tuition fee to provide transportation and other services for students, in the absence of property tax revenues.

One official further explained that such "under the wing" arrangements were not governed by any provincial laws or policies, and were entirely at the discretion of the board.

Since this type of language program, called a Type A French Program in the Education Act, is strongly supported by the provincial Department of Education, the French School, although now independent of both systems, is funded directly by the provincial Department of Education as a special project. The Department is apparently unhappy about this arrangement, however, and at the Department's behest, the French School Society is negotiating for affiliation with the public system for some kind of arrangement. According to the administrator quoted above, some parents are unhappy about the idea, because they want to retain the religious component provided by the separate system. Still other parents would prefer to remain independent.

According to a public school administrator, however, the majority

of the students in this school are from non-francophone homes (and therefore presumably not Catholic), and attend because their parents want them to have the opportunity to obtain a job with the national civil service, for which bilingualism is a requirement. The French School's enrollment has been growing steadily, though it remains at less than 1 percent of the city's total.

The separate system provides "housing" at no charge to a Montessori pre-school as well. The Montessori group is allowed to use several vacant classrooms in St. James' School, and is occasionally given paper, pencils, and other minor supplies by the separate system. Parents pay $750 per year tuition.

In addition, two other religious groups approached the separate school board

> asking whether there was any kind of a possibility for them to find a place with us. Not integrated, but perhaps under the wing. That's the Evangelical Church and a . . .
>
> (INTERVIEWER) What kind of arrangement did they have in mind?
>
> Well basically they've been--have you got any spare classrooms?--you have in school that is being emptied, give us . . . that facility, and of course, if they operate under our auspices then of course they have public funds available because the . . . provincial grants formula provides for . . . a payment to be made on the basis of recognized costs for the different levels. . . . What they're after, they'd become students operating within our system, but yet with an opportunity to determine some of their objectives, their program. [Rather than have just a few separate classes, however,] they want more autonomy. They would be teaching those children all the time.
>
> (INTERVIEWER) In effect a separate program within the school. Is that acceptable under provincial law?
>
> Oh sure . . . we have precedents for that.

This administrator indicated that it was more problematic to consider the affiliation of non-denominational groups than of denominational groups from other religions, because as a denominational school system they would have to "consider the implications very carefully." He did not specify what those implications were.

The particular precedent cited above, and the case he considered most problematic, was the Native Survival School. This was an institution designed by a Native Indian group, the Native Survival School Parents' Council. The intention was to provide an education for displaced Indian youth, recently arrived in the city from the "reserves" (reservations). It would provide an alternative to the regular school program, for students whose experiences with regular schools had made them suspicious of such environments, or who otherwise had trouble coping with the rigidities of a normal school program. Initially a grade 7-12 program, it was hoped that in time it would expand to a full K-12 program.

The Parents' Council initially approached the public school board, seeking a home with that organization. The public school board denied them. One administrator explained that such a program was not in keeping with the board's philosophy of integration (illustrated by their employment of the "least restrictive environment" concept for the handicapped, among other things).

> Last year we denied the only program that I can remember, which is the Native Survival School. And that was denied for a couple of reasons. The primary one, in my opinion, was segregation. . . . The implication was . . . that we really have three school systems

> in Saskatoon: the public, a Catholic, and then Native. . . . That's not consistent with our integrated model and so philosophically we wouldn't really buy in past that point. A second point which would have been difficult if we could have got beyond the first point . . . was that they really wanted a blank check . . . in terms of teacher selection, program selection and whatever . . .
>
> [Other Interviewee] And money.
>
> . . . When a parent comes to us we always try to put them . . . within the spirit of the policy. . . . The board can't ever give up its responsibility. It can delegate you lots of authority but it can't ever write off its responsibility with respect to outcomes. And so it has to maintain the ability to go back in and say, "hey, this isn't good for kids." And I suspect we would have got into a row over that with these parents.

The separate system apparently had similar qualms, as well as those generated by the non-denominational character of the school, but decided to give them a home in spite of possible objections, in the recently closed St. Joseph's School building.

A separate school administrator explained that the idea of the school was a response to the fact that many Indians, now migrating to the cities because of lack of subsistence, housing and work on the reservations, still want to maintain their identity. He described their efforts as follows:

> They had made an approach to both school boards here to establish a school which . . . was survival in the nature of culture, language, their basic factors of understanding their roots, and as they moved into urban centers they were not too successful. They were not too successful in their negotiations with the public school board and had approached us as well to establish a school for kids--right now it's a school that has kids from 13 to 18 years of age. And these kids have had bad experiences in their education.
>
> . . . The majority of them--there's only 60 in the school--have had experiences away from school. They . . . either haven't gone to school or they've dropped out of school or they can't function in a school . . . or something like this. . . .
>
> The Survival School is a joint effort of three bodies, the

> Survival School Parents' Council, the Department [of Education] and ourselves.
>
> . . . So we've established through formal agreement with them to join into this effort.

The Department of Education provides special additional funding for the project, and the school is administered by two coordinators, one from the Parent's Council, and one from the separate school district. There is no principal. This "adversary model" of administration was mandated for the school by the Department of Education. The administrator quoted can see advantages to this mode of administration, but is not convinced that other means wouldn't be more efficient, with considerably less wear and tear on the participants as well.

One outside observer, Dean Farquhar of the local University's School of Education, could show some sympathy with both system's philosophies, but felt that the separate system's approach to the urban Indian was more realistic. (In place of the Survival School, the public system instituted a Native Heritage Program in two collegiates, a series of courses relating to the areas of concern expressed by the Parents' Council, but open to non-Indians as well as Indians.) This observer felt that, the students who attended the Survival School had already failed in the normal school environment, and that, further, the idea of integration was inapplicable to them because their needs and their culture were simply too different to be fitted into the mainstream school situation.

The closest to an "under the wing" arrangement as described above that occurred in the public system is the "open classroom" program. However, this program is described in the public school literature as an

option available within the system for anyone willing to meet its requirements. As described by a public school administrator, it's a parent-active program that operates two classrooms in one building, with grades K through 7 in each room. As described in the literature,

> Parents, whose children attend these classes, want to have a significant daily involvement in the education of their children. Each classroom is organized on a multi-grade basis and attempts to incorporate the best features of rural multi-grade classrooms. . . . All parents whose children attend this program are expected to provide services and assistance as required by the parents' committee. These parents meet regularly and work closely with the principal of the school.

The program was begun in response to parent demand, by a group of professional and executive-level parents, organized as the Saskatoon Open Schools Society, who wished to have active daily participation in their children's education. The statement from the public school brochure illustrates once again the degree to which the public system feels it has to maintain close supervision over the programs under its jurisdiction, but also illustrates that system's responsiveness to parent needs.

Finally, there is one private school in Saskatoon, run by the Seventh-Day Adventists and having an enrollment of approximately 20 students. An observer with a province-wide perspective indicated that there were few private schools in the province, but that their number was growing, particularly under the auspices of fundamentalist groups responding to pressures similar to those leading similar groups in the United States to start their own schools, and of groups wishing to maintain an ethnic identity.

Although all schools in the province must teach the provincial

curriculum, the Education Act makes provision for funding only of private high schools,[29] which become eligible for provincial grants after five years of operation. Since the Seventh-Day Adventist school is an elementary school, it receives no public funds.

VII. PROGRAM OPTIONS

As mentioned, both systems avowedly try to be pro-active rather than reactive. It was mentioned that the Saskatchewan Department of Education was planning to institute a system whereby groups of parents could petition the board for special programs. The Saskatoon boards felt that, while entrenched in the democratic tradition, such a process was unnecessarily cumbersome. They prefer to try to identify and respond to needs before pressure groups crystallize.

One example is the academically oriented separate elementary school (which failed). A survey of Catholic parents in the vicinity of the university indicated that there would be strong support for such a program. It was established, with a new principal who had a strong commitment to the idea, in one of the older schools with declining enrollment, and initially attracted about 50 students. This was not enough to make up for the decline in student population, and the decision was eventually reached to close the school and terminate the program.

Some statements quoted in the previous section illustrate the extent to which both systems attempt to respond to parent desires for program options. Separate system officials talk as though they are more responsive than public school officials, and quicker to act:

> If you're smaller you can mobilize faster, and react and cater. And because we're a minority system we feel a lot more affinity to minorities. Therefore, we're much more . . . prepared to provide alternate kinds of education.

This informant specifically mentioned bilingual education as one area in which the separate system took the lead. In fact, a bilingual

French program was instituted at St. Paul's School in 1964, ten years before the province defined the type B, or designated school program. This program, which by provincial mandate provides at least 50 percent of instruction in the designated language, was instituted at St. Matthew's School in 1977, and two more designated schools are definitely planned, with two more under consideration (as well as the proposed designated high school, discussed earlier).

Perhaps because of effective public relations, the impression has spread beyond the separate school community that that system is in fact more responsive. Dean Robin Farquhar, for example, mentioned that he thought the separate system had been "especially innovative in creating magnet schools." However, when pressed, he could name only the fine arts school and the two designated French schools.

Spokesmen for both systems suggested that both systems watched each other's experiments and innovations closely, and were quick to imitate any that caught on. The examples they gave, however, tended to indicate that they didn't watch as closely as they thought they did.

For example, one separate school administrator said:

> I suppose that in terms of providing special kinds of opportunities we are a more flexible system. . . . We will examine alternatives such as our fine arts school alternative and such as our Native Survival School Project. That, I suppose, is related to this philosophy generally, and notion of flexibility to a greater degree than perhaps you'll find in the public schools. . . . However, . . . in terms of providing special kinds of opportunities, there is no question that the public school board does watch the initiatives, observes the initiatives that we take, and we observe and watch, mindful of some of their initiatives. I suppose an example of that is bilingual education. The public school board is not going to be very far behind us in terms of providing this kind of an opportunity. . . . We are taking the initiative, but they are

> watching what we are doing. . . . Perhaps in some areas in the fine arts, maybe in band or instrumental music, we're watching what they're doing.

At the time this administrator made this statement, both systems had two designated bilingual French schools "in place," a fact of which he apparently was not aware. One separate school administrator also informed us that the separate system busses all students who wish to attend a school further from home than the nearest one, whereas the public system simply turned the provincial transportation grant directly over to the parents.

Further inquiry, however, revealed considerable misperception in that statement. The separate schools do provide transportation to all students in designated bilingual programs (they have such programs in Ukranian and Cree as well as French) and to students in neighborhoods formerly served by neighborhood elementary schools. They also provide transportation to kindergarten students whose nearest school does not have a kindergarten class. They do not provide such service to all students in schools other than the nearest. The public schools, however, also provide transportation, but to students in special education programs and programs for the handicapped, and to students in neighborhoods yet to be served by neighborhood elementary schools. In addition, they do turn the provincial transportation grant (of $1.10 per day) over to parents of students in designated bilingual programs.

The ostensible special flexibility of the separate system cited above may be merely mythical. The public system also seems unusually innovative, having instituted special programs for the gifted as long

ago as 1932, an area that was entered by the separate system only in 1979, with a slightly different approach. The Saskatoon Public Schools, moreover, were the first in Canada to integrate handicapped students into the regular programs whenever possible, beginning in 1965 with deaf and hearing-impaired students, and in 1969 with the trainable mentally retarded. In addition, the public system has committed itself to providing all program options, at least on a limited basis, in all its elementary schools. The separate system views transportation as an alternative to this approach. This difference may explain why the public system has been less "successful" at creating magnet schools.

Programs Available in the Public Schools

The range of program options available in the public schools is indeed broad.

One area in which the public schools have been especially active is in the development of special programs for the handicapped, and in creating programs which would keep these students integrated in the regular classrooms. The general approach appears to be placing the least severely handicapped in mainstream settings and providing consultant services for their teachers; providing itinerant teachers for those students who need a small degree of specialized instruction; providing "resource rooms" in several of the schools in the system which students who need a greater degree of special attention or remedial work attend for part of the school day; and maintaining one school for students who are too severely handicapped to be placed in the mainstream for even

part of the day. Programs have been established for students with behavioral disorders, the hearing impaired, the mentally retarded, the mentally handicapped, the physically handicapped, the visually impaired, and those with speech handicaps and specific learning disabilities. Only those who are severely mentally retarded are placed in the special school, the John Dolan School, which like all the public schools, accepts separate-system students on a fee-for-service basis. It was felt that it would be uneconomical to operate two such schools in a city as small as Saskatoon.

As mentioned, the public school system has also been in the forefront of special programs for the gifted and talented. It offers one special class in grades 4 through 8, with four itinerant teachers providing special services to the gifted throughout the system, a full-time consultant for gifted education, and some enriched and accelerated programs. Elements of this program, as well as of the programs for the handicapped, are continued in the collegiates, with certain schools providing specific services for each group.

In addition to programs for the handicapped and the gifted, the public system offers home economics and industrial arts in grade 8, with continuation in the collegiates (high schools) and opportunity for more intensive work in the two comprehensive collegiates. Every elementary school also provides a second-language program in French, Spanish, German, or Ukranian (the latter two are offered in neighborhoods where there is a high concentration of persons of the appropriate ethnic background, and do not seem to draw many students from other neighborhoods, regardless

of ethnic background). There is one designated French school, providing instruction entirely in French in Kindergarten, 75 percent French in first grade, gradually decreasing to 50 percent French and 50 percent English by grade 8. Another school has a kindergarten program in French, and Kindergarten programs in Ukranian have been instituted when the demand is sufficient.

All the elementary schools have some kind of instrumental music program. All students get some exposure through ukulele ensembles and such, and there are some limited string instrument programs.

The four alternative types of collegiates have already been mentioned briefly. They also offer a choice between a matriculation program (qualifying the student for university entrance) and a non-matriculation program, and offer a number of elective subjects, including journalism and computer programming. Not all electives are available at all the collegiates.

The public collegiates offer language instruction in French, German, Ukranian, and Latin. In addition, two collegiates have classes in English as a Second Language, and there is an itinerant teacher who teaches such classes at the elementary level. The ESL programs are specifically designed to cope with a recent influx of students from Southeast Asia and from Chile.

Programs Available in the Separate Schools

In part because the separate schools are fewer in number, and therefore further apart, the separate schools to some extent see their

transportation program as an alternative to providing total program options in each school. Further, in keeping with their greater commitment to service, discussed above, they appear to have fewer program options.

The system has some facilities for special education, although not as extensive as those in the public schools.

Many of the programs found in public elementary schools are also found in the separate elementary schools, but not all programs are available in all schools. Although all the schools have at least one choir, only three have band programs. Three others have home economics and shop classes.

As mentioned, the separate system has made a strong commitment to bilingual education, with two designated French schools in place, at least two more in the planning stage, and bilingual kindergartens in Cree and Ukranian. In keeping with the policy of introducing innovative programs in schools with declining enrollment, these programs were introduced in such schools. They have proved so attractive that those schools are increasing their enrollments rapidly.

A program of education for the gifted was begun in the 1979-80 school year, under the title of "Extended Learning Opportunities." It involved special instruction for a half day a week in four schools, all of which was conducted by an itinerant teacher employed half-time.

An English as a Second Language program was instituted at the same time, in three elementary schools and one collegiate.

Probably the most unique program offered by the separate system at

the elementary level is the fine arts program, housed in Georges Vanier School beginning in September, 1980. This school offers a core program of music, drama, and the visual and communicative arts, along with the basics. Faculty for this school all have expertise in some area of the fine arts, and the arts are used in all areas of learning. In addition, visiting performers make appearances at the school, and students visit local art galleries.

As noted, the separate system houses the Native Survival School as a special project, and also runs two comprehensive and one special high school. The researchers got the impression that the separate collegiates, although officially comprehensive, did not have as extensive vocational offerings as the public comprehensive collegiates.

In addition, both systems each house two "community schools," which are elementary schools primarily for native Indians, operated, as is the Native Survival School, with an adversary administrative structure and funded in part directly by the Department of Education. The four community schools are in different neighborhoods, and each attracts its clientele primarily on the basis of location, rather than religious affiliation.

VIII. ENROLLMENT PATTERNS SINCE THE AGREEMENT

The separate schools have had a somewhat rocky enrollment picture since the agreements were signed. Enrollment peaked in 1973, the year before the elementary-level agreement went into effect, at 8,332. Following the agreement, the system experienced an immediate decline to 8,195, a drop of 9.8 percent. In the following four years, the enrollment fluctuated between 8124 and 8200. Since the 1979-80 school year, enrollment has been increasing gradually. These figures appear in graphic form in the upper part of Figure 1. The proportion of the city's students being educated in the separate system has been increasing gradually, by about 1/2 percent per year since 1977, and by a smaller fraction of a percent before that. This proportion appears in Figure 2.

The public school system has projected its enrollment figures through 1983. Enrollment is expected to peak in the public elementary schools by 1983, at 14,870, followed by a leveling off. Enrollment in the collegiates is expected to decline by about 10 percent as of the same date.[30] Past enrollment figures appear in Figure 3.

These changes have occurred against a background of relatively stable enrollments for the city as a whole. During the period from 1974 to 1980, the highest enrollment was 30,847 for all schools in the city, and the lowest was 29,945. The peak was reached in 1974 and the low point in 1977. Total city enrollments appear in Figure 2.

Alarmed at the sudden enrollment decline in 1974-75, the Catholic Board of Education commissioned a survey of Catholic parents which was

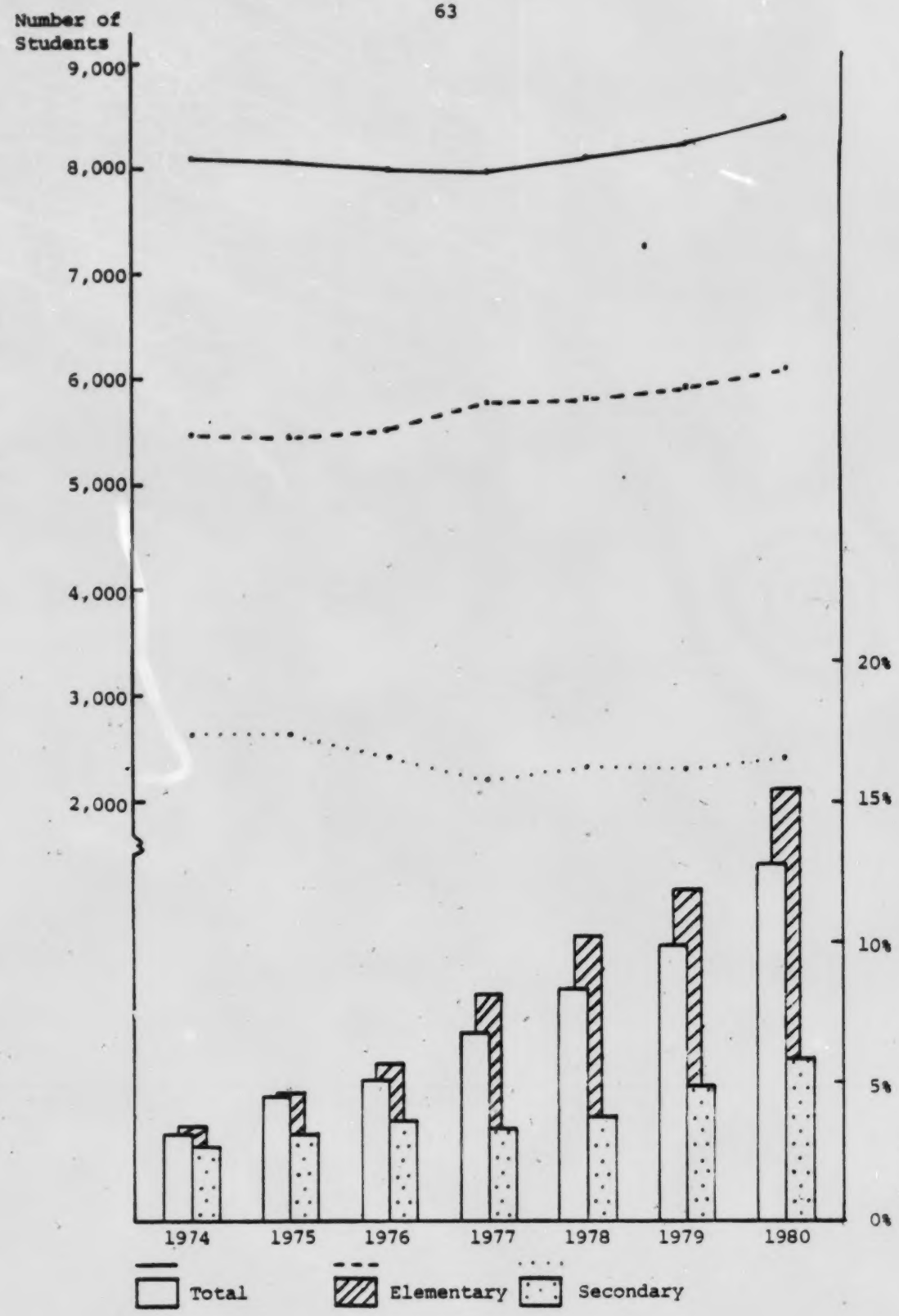

FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT REPRESENTED BY NON-CATHOLIC STUDENTS, 1974-1980

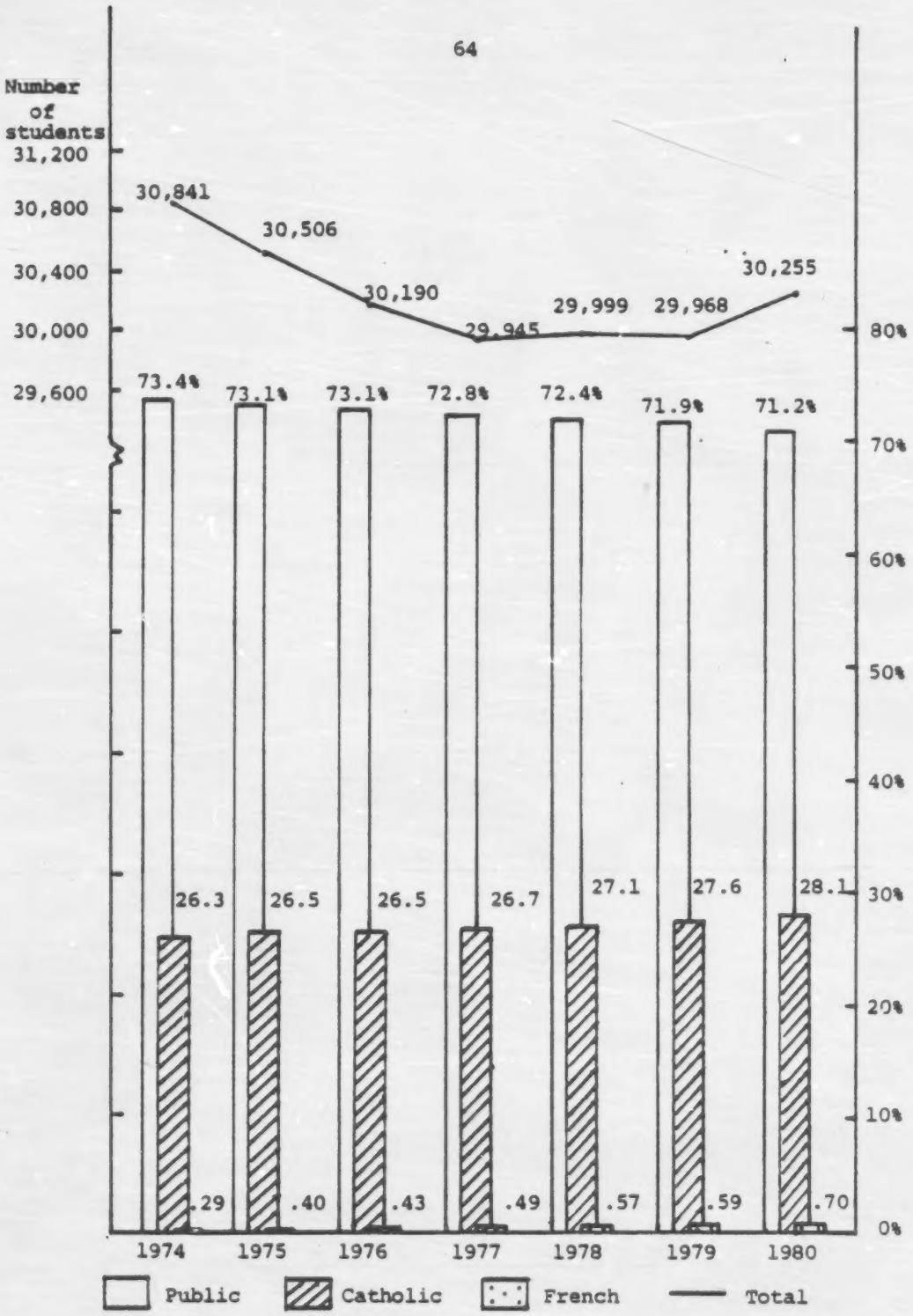

FIGURE 2: PROPORTION OF TOTAL CITY ENROLLMENT IN EACH SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1973-1980

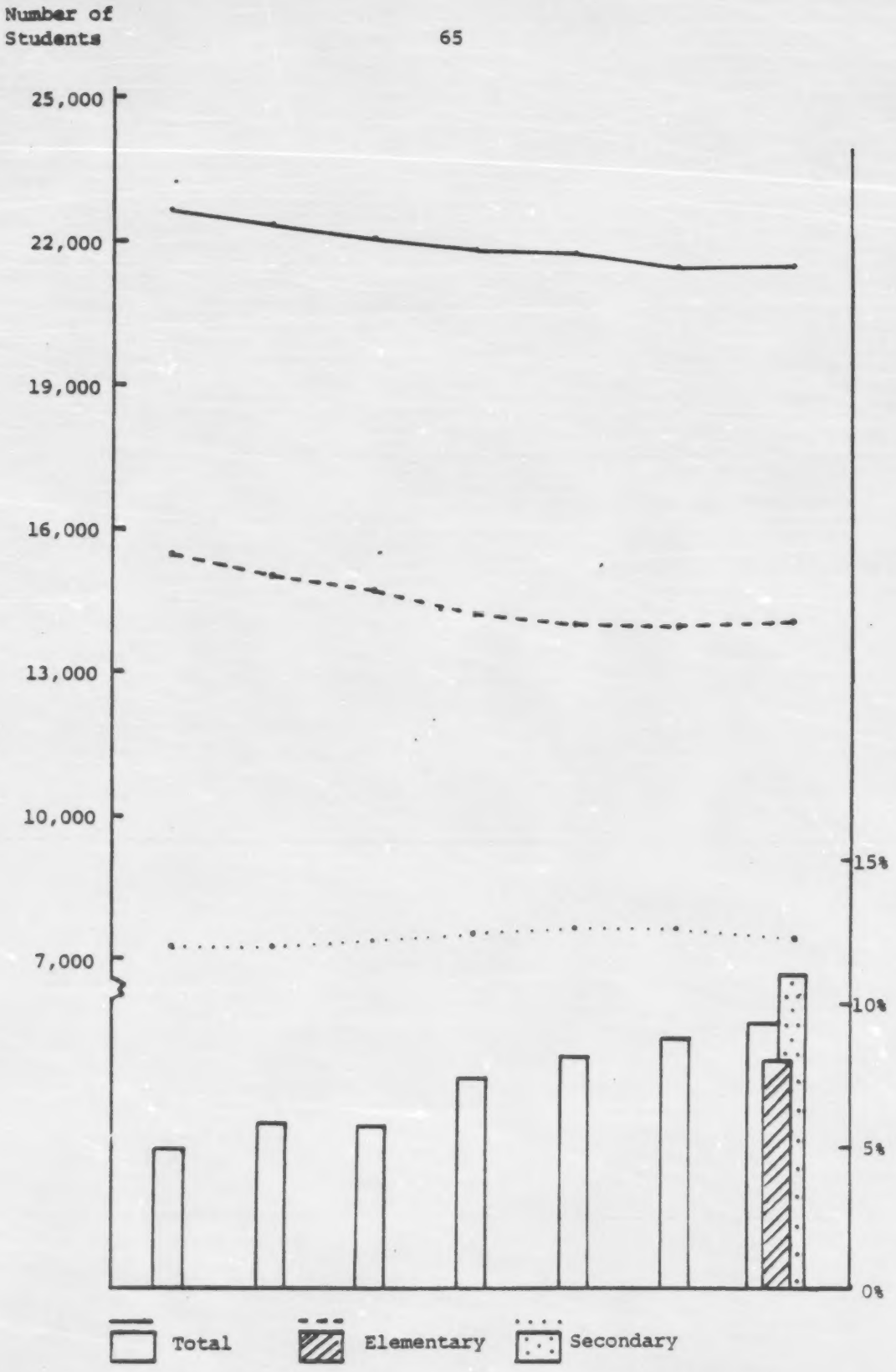

FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT REPRESENTED BY SEPARATE SCHOOL TAX SUPPORTERS[a], 1974-1980

a. Some students declared as Roman Catholic on school enrollment forms are actually public school tax supporters. If the number of declared Roman Catholics were used, the percentage would be higher, as in Table 4.

conducted by Sr. Mildred Kaufman and released in 1975, to determine the causes. This study determined that the principal reasons Catholic parents chose public schools were that they were closer to home (there being more of them), that their child preferred the public schools, and that the quality of education in the public schools was superior.[31] Interestingly, however, the conclusion to that report stressed the impressions of Catholic parents that discipline was superior in the public schools, that classes were too large in the Catholic schools, that not enough stress was placed on basic educational skills, and that the Come to the Father program did not place enough stress on Catholic dogma and principles.[32] Among the recommendations were, not surprisingly, that better transportation be provided and that more Catholic schools be built[33] (so they would be close to more homes). Also recommended was a greater emphasis on communication.[34] The Kaufman Report indicated that many Catholic parents had never sent their children to Catholic schools, seeing little value in Catholic education, and that the Catholic schools needed to be more visible.

As we have noted, the recommendation concerning transportation was taken to heart. So was the recommendation concerning building. Since that time, efforts have been made to locate new Catholic elementary schools back-to-back or side-by-side with public schools.

The separate system also made efforts to insure that Catholic schools would be built before public schools. A principal would be "in place" a year before the school opened, to do "community development" work, communicating to other organizations in the neighborhood that the

school would be built, forging ties with the local neighborhood association, knocking on the doors of Catholic parents to inform them of the new educational opportunity and to get acquainted, etc. The Catholic system would also establish the new school administratively, with a staff, a student body, and an administration, within a neighboring school building, so that a sense of identity would already exist when the school first opened. An aggressive media campaign, aimed at increasing the separate system's "visibility," was also instituted.

The result, as Figure 1 indicates, was a distinct improvement in Catholic school enrollments. It is not clear, however, that the increased enrollments represent families who left the Catholic schools in 1974. One must surmise that those who left knew what they were leaving. Thus, one must also surmise that those who came into the system after the publicity efforts made the system more visible were among those who had not previously patronized the Catholic schools.

One effect of the advertising campaign was to attract some non-Catholic families. Several separate school administrators and principals indicated that they heard from parents that they had chosen the Catholic schools because of the "telespots" they had seen. However, everyone denied that the purpose of the advertising was to bring in such families.

Over the years since the agreement, the Catholic schools have steadily increased their proportion of non-Catholic students, as Figure 1 indicates. At the same time, however, as Figure 3 shows, the public schools have steadily increased their proportion of Catholic students. At present, both the absolute number of Catholics in public

schools, and the relative proportion of Catholics, as opposed to separate system tax supporters, in public schools, are higher than the reverse proportion, as Table 4 demonstrates. As of September, 1980, 12.7% of the Catholic system's enrollment was non-Catholic. This represented 15.45% of elementary school enrollment and 5.78% of high school enrollment. In contrast, the percentage of Catholics in public schools was 14.7% as of September, 1980 (13.6% of elementary enrollment and 17.4% of secondary enrollment, excluding special education students). The apparent discrepancy with Figure 3 is accounted for by the fact that of 3168 Catholics in the public schools, only 2005.5 are separate school tax supporters.

TABLE 4

COMPARATIVE RATES OF CROSS-CHOICE

Schools	Catholics in Public Schools (%)	Non-Catholics in Separate Schools (%)
Elementary	13.6	15.5
Secondary	17.4	5.8
Total	14.7	12.7

Officials of both systems point with a great deal of pride to the figures on cross-choice. This is to be expected if the relationship between the systems is one of rivalry. Even though both systems explicitly disavow any intention of recruiting each other's students, the figures are seen as a measure of competitive success. Each system cites statistics to prove it is competing more successfully than the other system. The public schools point to their steadily increasing proportion of Catholics (Figure 3), and to their greater absolute numbers of

cross-choosers. At the same time, the Catholic system is proud of the fact that its "market share" is increasing by half a percent per year (Figure 2). One administrator suggested that the increase was due to the fact that Catholics "out-breed" non-Catholics, while others were inclined to believe it was a measure of the superior quality of their schools.

Of the 26 separate elementary schools, as of September 1980, 4 have 5 or fewer non-Catholic students, 9 have between 10 and 25, 6 have between 25 and 40, 4 have between 50 and 80, and only 2 have over 100: St. Augustine, with 1972, and Bishop Roborecki with 105. The indications are that it is not the special programs that attract the non-Catholics in greatest numbers: while one of the designated French schools has 79 non-Catholics, the other has only 38; the bilingual Ukranian school has 27, and the fine arts school only 5. The 2 community schools have 19.

A public school official was queried as to whether any special steps were being taken to deal with loss of enrollment at Roland Michener Elementary School, adjacent to St. Augustine, or at Confederation Park, adjacent to Bishop Roborecki. He pointed out, once again, that system-wide, the public system has twice as many separate school supporters enrolled as the separate system has public school supporters. He argued that, with twice as many students overall, the public system reasonably stood to lose twice as many to the separate system, and that therefore the unusually high rates of non-Catholic enrollment at the two schools in question were no cause for concern.

He also noted that at Bishop Roborecki there were 105 public school supporters, whereas at the neighboring Confederation Park School, there

were 103 declared Roman Catholics (of whom 44 were separate school tax supporters), so the exchange was about even. Only at St. Augustine, he felt, was there an unusual situation. (Whereas St. Augustine has 1972 non-Catholics, Roland Michener has 25 Roman Catholics, 11 of whom are separate school tax supporters.) He attributed the enrollment shift to the quality of St. Augustine's noon-hour supervision program and the character of its principal. As it was obvious that St. Augustine is an unusual school in many respects, it will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

The picture of parent choice patterns seems to differ at the two levels between the two systems. On the one hand, the separate system has made some efforts to differentiate its elementary schools, while the public system has made efforts to standardize its elementary schools. On the other, the public system operates only two collegiates, one at either end of town, and so is constrained to make them both comprehensive. Thus we would expect to find greater selectivity at the elementary level in the separate system and at the secondary level in the public system. If cross-choice statistics are a measure of selectivity, the figures in Table 4 bear out this expectation.

No records are kept concerning how many parents choose schools other than the nearest. A public school administrator admits that the number is "quite small, and most of them are in special programs," such as bilingual education, special programs for the handicapped, etc.

Separate school officials like to relate anecdotes concerning parents who go out of their way to select a given school, and make

special efforts to transport their children to it, but it seems likely that such families would be particularly memorable, rather than typical.

While at least some parents "shop around," often looking at schools from both systems, officials from both systems admit that most families choose on the basis of proximity most of the time. Since there are fewer Catholic than public schools, the public schools undoubtedly gain a fairly substantial proportion of their Catholic enrollment on this basis. However, the separate board's policy of building close to the public schools when possible in the newer parts of town may have obviated losses for this reason. The establishment of special programs by the separate system in schools with declining enrollment, and the provision of transportation services for those in the programs, may be seen as another means of curtailing enrollment losses, or even of creating enrollment gains.

Although nobody said so in so many words, the separate system seems to prefer to leave the matter of school choice entirely in the hands of the family. The public system, with its emphasis on appropriate programs, tries to intervene more actively, but one public school official wistfully admitted that "most people choose schools for the wrong reasons," such as proximity, or the presence of friends in the school. In both systems, reportedly the nearest school of one's normal system (public or Catholic) is the "normal" choice.

Undoubtedly, a certain proportion of parents do choose something other than the nearest school of their "home" system for what might be called valid reasons. As noted above, the separate system provides a

number of services to parents and children that the public system does not provide, such as noon-hour supervision. A certain number makes choices on the basis of program opportunities. (One instance was reported in which a parent considered several separate schools along with the local public school, because she had heard that the separate schools were "better," but wanted certain programs not available in all of them, such as woodworking shop and band.) Probably a larger proportion, especially of non-Catholics who choose the separate schools, do so because of elements of school climate, rather than program. (The parent mentioned above finally chose St. Augustine, which had none of the desired programs, because of its climate.)

On the latter point, separate school principals were full of anecdotes concerning parents who transferred into the separate system for reasons of climate, suggesting that climates in the two systems are quite different. This impression was confirmed by Robin Farquhar, Dean of the School of Education, University of Saskatchewan, and by one parent interviewed by chance, but further research would be desirable to confirm and/or elaborate the point. All the incidents reported indicated that the separate elementary schools had far superior climates. This may well be true, but all the evidence we have concerning the public schools comes from those who were disenchanted with them. Some direct observation on the point would be extremely useful.

It is also unquestionably true that many non-Catholic parents choose the Catholic schools because they want a Christian education for their children. The clientele of several schools includes the families of

Protestant ministers. Many parishioners of these ministers, aware of that choice, followed suit.

The fact that the Come to the Father program stresses Christian living rather than Catholic dogma, while irksome to some Catholics, apparently makes the separate schools attractive to Christians of other denominations. Thus, the availability of two publicly funded school systems, one of which has a strong religious orientation, may serve to mitigate the type of discontentment that leads many Protestant denominations in the United States to form their own private schools.

At the secondary level, it seems probable that more Catholic students choose public collegiates for program opportunities than for other reasons, although with 7 public collegiates and only 2 separate collegiates, and a past history of all students attending the public collegiates, it seems probable that distance is still a major factor in the choice. It is noteworthy that all 9 collegiates from both systems use a common application form (reproduced in Appendix C).

The public system makes extensive efforts to insure appropriate choice of collegiates by its elementary students. On the one hand, the principals of all the public collegiates make a presentation at their five or so nearest elementary schools, concerning the full range of program options available at the collegiate level, in order to inform parents and students of the range of alternatives from which they can choose. The public system also holds widely advertised "parent rights" for the same purpose, which Catholic families are welcome to attend. On the other hand, this activity is supplemented by intensive personal

consultation between parents, students, and the guidance counselor, in order to help the students clarify the best alternatives. This becomes particularly necessary in the case of the "low achievers." The public school system would prefer to route them into Riverview Collegiate, which is a special school designed for this group, but many parents do not want to have their children in a school with a reputation as being for slow learners, even though it can probably provide more and better services for the students for whom it is appropriate.

Despite these efforts, most students elect to attend the nearest collegiate or the one which their friends attend. A public school official mentioned a tendency for the entire graduating class of a given elementary school to attend the same collegiate together, but indicated that the choice of collegiate tended to vary from year to year, rather than follow a tradition.

The separate system, too, makes efforts to make its constituents aware of the secondary options it has, but again, the emphasis is different. The two collegiates play host to athletic events for eighth graders from the various separate elementary schools, in an effort to help them feel at home there. The collegiates maintain bulletin boards in all the separate elementary schools.

Further "recruitment" efforts will be discussed below, in the section on public relations. Recruitment is in quotation marks because both systems make clear that they are not actively seeking to bring in students from the other system. However, some public school officials, feeling that their program options are considerably superior

on the secondary level, expressed a wish that they could give their collegiate presentation to the separate elementary schools as well, in the interests of the best possible education for all students, and indicated that they would be quite willing to reciprocate.

Upon application for enrollment, neither system goes out of its way to inform parents that they have the right to attend the other system's schools without cost. However, this information is provided if asked for. The separate schools' publicity efforts generally include the information that non-Catholics may attend their schools. The public system, however, makes no similar effort.

If one looks at the geographic distribution of non-Catholics who place their children in Catholic elementary schools, it becomes clear that word-of-mouth is the strongest factor in encouraging non-Catholics to make such a choice. Two separate school principals reported that most of their non-Catholic patrons lived on the same blocks as the first few non-Catholic families to choose their schools.

Transfers between systems may occur at any time. One separate principal mentioned one that took place twelve days before the end of the school year. There are no institutional barriers to transfer between systems, with the single exception that non-Catholics entering the separate system must sign a declaration to the effect that children will participate willingly in religious education classes. To the best of our knowledge, the only circumstances under which either system would refuse to admit a student are those in which this declaration is not completed. Thus, transfers between systems seem to be simpler than transfers within the public system.

We have virtually no data on transfer after original choice, which is perhaps a more interesting issue than original choice. What compels parents to change their minds? What do they look for when their original choice is found wanting? We have some anecdotal evidence from the separate schools but no information concerning transfers to the public schools. Neither system keeps records of this information in explicit form, so we cannot even deduce rates. The only figures available are contained in an internal memo of the separate school board, indicating that 17 students transferred to the separate system from the public system while 8 transferred in the reverse direction, either in September, 1980, or between the 1979-80 school year and the 1980-81 school year. In either event, the time period is too small to be representative.

Dean Farquhar believes that there are a great many more public-to-separate transfers in midstream than there are transfers in the reverse direction, and attributes the continuing growth of the separate system to that fact.

There is another wrinkle to the matter of parent choice, which involves the two surrounding school districts. Saskatoon East and Saskatoon West are rural districts surrounding the city. Many former urbanites are buying "estates" in those areas, and like to take their children to school on the way to work in town. They feel that the city schools offer better education, which may be true. Enrolling their children in city schools, however, involves payment of nonresident tuition fees. The public system is apparently quite insistent on this. If the outsider's resident district will not pay the tuition, the public system expects the parents to pay it, and have turned away nonresident students for nonpayment.

This is another area in which the separate system is apparently more flexible. Since there are no separate schools in Saskatoon East and West, the Separate System feels a moral obligation to give those children the benefit of a religious education whether or not the local district pays, and does not insist that parents pay tuition. The system is willing to absorb the loss. The rural districts are generally reluctant to pay the tuition fees, since they are small, and can ill afford to lose the funds.

IX. PUBLIC RELATIONS

One aspect of the Saskatoon situation that is clearly attributable to the enrollment agreements is the degree to which both systems engage in public relations and advertising. As noted, the separate system began such efforts after its enrollments suddenly dropped when the agreement was signed. It was felt that one reason for the drop was poor communications, and that the system needed to become more "visible."

A three-pronged effort was launched by the Catholic system, involving a media campaign, a campaign through the churches, and an effort to have the individual schools publicize their own activities and achievements. As the official in charge described the main emphasis of the media campaign:

> we make fairly extensive use of the television, through a series of . . . 80 telespots during the summer. And each summer . . . we've changed the thrust of the audio. . . . This past summer, it was, "welcome, new residents of Saskatoon; we're here, we're Catholic schools, here's how many we are, this is what we stand for, here's what happens about your dollars."

This message accompanies three different visual presentations: one focusing on the elementary schools, one on the collegiates and one on the system as a whole. The visual images all stress "kids in action."

> . . . Whenever we do anything on TV, or we have a school opening or a newspaper advertisement . . . we try as much as possible to make sure everything has pictures of children in it. Our school opening programs--we hope they would become a longtime souvenir of kids. Therefore every youngster has his picture in the program.
>
> . . . in our telespots . . . you'll see the odd picture of a teacher, and of a physical building, but basically, they're kids in action. . . .

The public school board's official "Communication Policy Statement" indicates that that school system also places advertisements on television. We were not able to determine anything about the nature of that advertising,

however.

Both systems make use of newspaper advertisements, copies of which appear in Figures 4 and 5. These advertisements appeared just prior to and after the opening of school in September, and seem to be in the nature of public announcements. It is worth noting that neither system's advertisements contain any pictures of children.

Equally notable, however, is the fact that both systems publish a great deal of literature about themselves for public relations purposes. The public school system appears to have a great many more brochures available than the separate school system, and its brochures are every bit as rich in pictures of children as those of the separate system.

Both systems are required by law to publish an annual report, which is distributed to parents through the students, and is widely available elsewhere. The separate system's principal publications, in addition to the report, are "Focus," which includes statements of philosophy, funding, program options, and enrollment requirements (i.e., that non-Catholics may enroll); and an up-to-date map of school locations, which is distributed through real estate dealers and the Welcome Wagon, to inform newcomers of the availability of the Catholic schools. In addition, vigorous efforts are made to ensure that separate school literature is available at public libraries, Catholic Churches, and city hall.

The public system publishes a wide variety of brochures. Among them are a description of program opportunities, a "welcome to kindergarten" brochure, a description of programs for the hearing-impaired, a description of staff development programs undertaken by the board, and many others.

Saskatoon Board of Education

R G Fast, M Ed Ph D , Director of Education

WELCOME BACK TO SCHOOL
SASKATOON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
School Opening Procedures
September 1980

Parents of Elementary & Secondary Students:

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS:

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2 (9:00 A.M.)

STUDENTS IN NEW NEIGHBORHOODS:

- Dundonald students will attend
- Lakeview students will attend
- Silverwood Heights
- Brownell students will attend

TRANSPORTATION:

Beginning Tuesday, September 2

STUDENTS ATTENDING:

- The French Immersion Program at
- The French Immersion Kindergarten Program at
- The Core Kindergarten programs at

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3 (9:00 A.M.)

Classes begin in the Elementary Schools

PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS (COLLEGIATES)

All collegiate students, Grades 9 to 12, are to report at the times and dates listed below. Students are asked to come prepared to:

1) Complete all registration forms
2) Pay school fees (check with your school)
3) Receive textbooks — all Grade 9 students and students registering in a Grade 9 course for the first time will pay a $10.00 textbook rental fee

COLLEGIATE	GRADE	DATE	TIME	PLACE
Aden Bowman				
Bethune				
	XI			
	XII			

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4

Classes begin in the collegiates

SASKATOON PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28:

All teachers will meet in their home schools in the morning and the Centennial Auditorium in the afternoon.

For additional information, phone your neighborhood school or the Saskatoon Board of Education at 244-2211.

FIGURE 4: PUBLIC SCHOOL ADVERTISEMENTS

The above advertisement appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix on August 25 and August 30, 1980.

Saskatoon Board of Education

THE CITIZENS' ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE SASKATOON BOARD OF EDUCATION

Announces

FIRST MEETING: **Monday, September 29, 1980 - 8:00 p.m.**
Dr. F. J. Gathercole Education Centre

PROGRAM Dr. R. G. Fast, Director of Education
"MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF THE 80s"

Dr. R.B. Earl and Dr. M.J. Kindrachuk
Superintendents fo Schools
Multi-image Presentation "ALL THE DIFFERENCE"

PURPOSES:

The citizens' Advisory Council of the Board of Education performs an advisory role for the Board. The Council attempts to serve the following purposes

1. It provides a forum broader than that offered by the membership of the Board itself for the discussion of educational matters.
2. It studies matters referred to it by the board on which the Board wishes to have broader public reaction before making major decisions.
3. It provides the public with an additional challenge of communication to board.

MEMBERSHIP:

The membership of the Council consists fo its executive and one representative from each Home and School and Community organizations

EXECUTIVE:

President - Brian Craggs Phone: 244-7128
1st Vice-President - Carl D'Arcy Phone: 244-6678
2nd Vice-President - Olga Coates Phone 382-6042
Corresponding Secretary - Nancy Baltzan
Recording Secretary - Helen MacMillan
Past President - Judy Nordness

INTERESTED MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC ARE INVITED TO ATTEND

FOR FUTHER INFORMATION, PHONE A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE OR THE BOARD OF EDUCATION AT 244-2211 EXT. 232.

FIGURE 4, Continued.

The above advertisement appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix on September 16 and September 20, 1980.

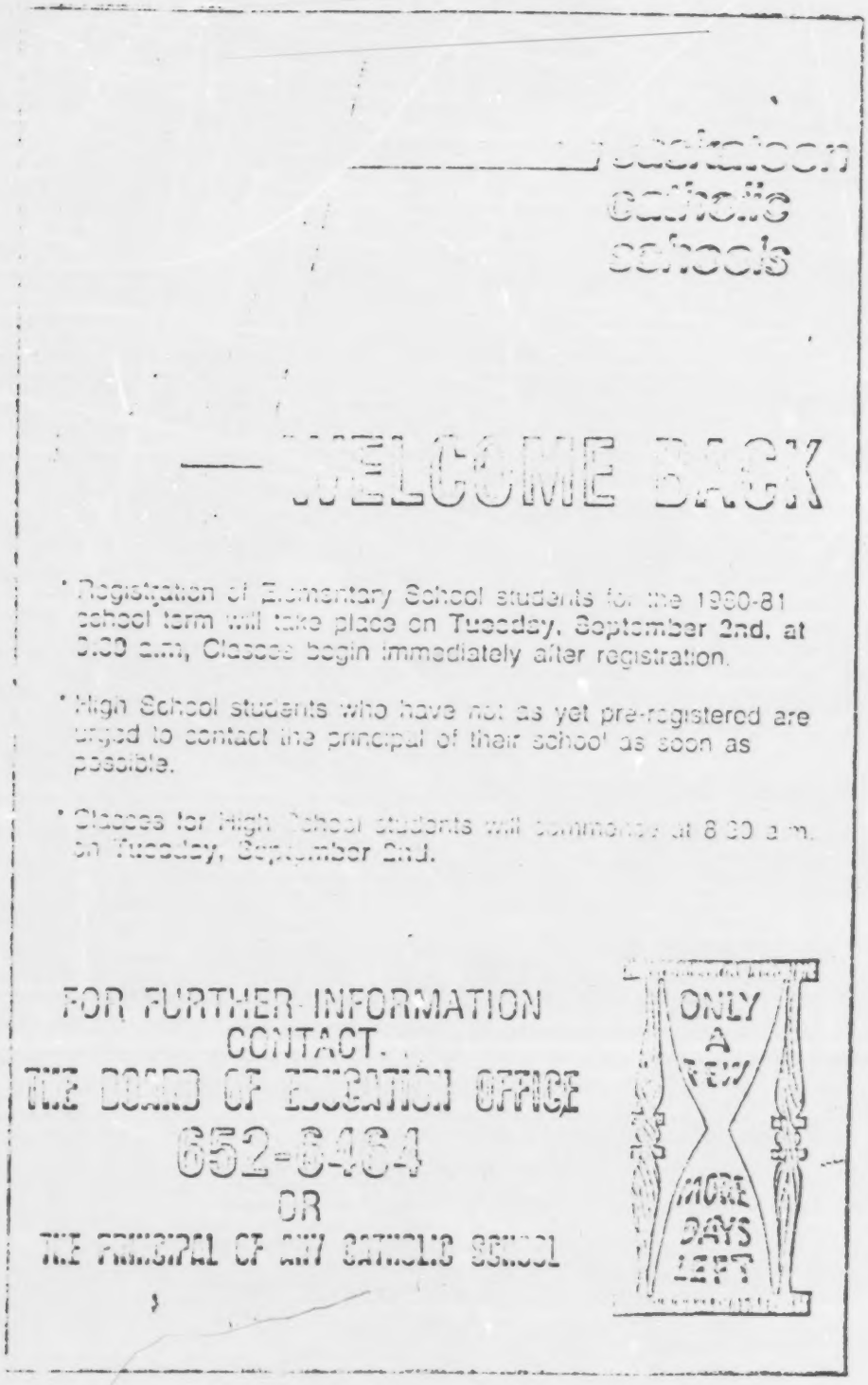
saskatoon
catholic
schools
WELCOME BACK
• Registration of Elementary School students for the 1980-81 school term will take place on Tuesday, September 2nd, at 9:00 a.m. Classes begin immediately after registration.
• High School students who have not as yet pre-registered are urged to contact the principal of their school as soon as possible.
• Classes for High School students will commence at 8:30 a.m. on Tuesday, September 2nd.
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT..
THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OFFICE
652-6464
OR
THE PRINCIPAL OF ANY CATHOLIC SCHOOL
ONLY A FEW MORE DAYS LEFT

FIGURE 5: SEPARATE SCHOOL ADVERTISEMENT

The above advertisement appeared in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix on August 23 and August 30, 1980.

These are made available to all who want them. In addition, the annual report is distributed through city hall, the public libraries, and the university, and for the first time the system is publishing a four-page tabloid which will be widely distributed in order to reach those without children in school.

Both systems make extensive efforts to inform the public of their activities during the provincially mandated Education Week. A spokesman for the separate system mentioned a $3000 display designed by two art teachers, that was placed in shopping centers during that week. We were not able to ascertain what efforts the public system made during Education Week.

Both systems also extend themselves to ensure that the individual schools communicate with their constituencies. The principal means by which the public schools do so is through school newsletters, which are published periodically. The separate schools have made efforts to have announcements of school events placed in drugstores and confectionaries, where they will have wide readership.

In addition to the media campaign, the separate system makes some special and unusual efforts to be known and remembered. Among them are specially printed postcards mailed to the families of Catholic children congratulating the family on the child's baptism; letters of welcome to new Catholic residents in Saskatoon; letters of welcome to non-Catholics who enroll their children in Catholic schools; letters reminding Catholic homeowners to declare their taxes properly; and cards thanking them for doing so. Copies of these documents appear in Appendix A.

There are indications that these special efforts have had the effect of creating the image that the separate system "really cares about kids." At least, separate system officials felt they had such an effect, based on what parents had told them.

The director of the provincial Teachers Federation, formerly a Saskatoon Catholic elementary school principal, indicated that the amount of advertising put out by the two systems was one of the more interesting manifestations of the agreement. He noted that no other school systems in the province engaged in such extensive advertising, and made a point of calling it advertising rather than public relations.

While the need for such efforts is clear on the part of the Catholic schools, its necessity for the public schools is much less clear. The public schools, after all, are known to exist, are tuition-free, and are the normal choice for most parents.

There are several factors, however, that make the situation somewhat comprehensible. First, in a city as small as Saskatoon, with two highly visible school systems, one would expect that neither one could afford to have the image of falling behind. Therefore, the public schools would feel the need to have some sort of public relations effort, if only because the separate schools already had one.

Secondly, our suggestion that the relationship between the systems is one of friendly rivalry also helps to explain the effort. In a fixed market, the only way to maintain one's market share is through the introduction of successful new products, which must be advertised in order to become successful. The rivalry model also provides a secondary reason

why neither system would want to appear to be falling behind.

The point was repeatedly made, however, that each system aimed primarily to inform its own constituency of what was available, rather than to attract adherents of the other system. As one public school official described it:

> Nobody goes out with a great big blitz to, you know, to get kids from the other system, and vice versa. I think each system goes out and makes known what it can offer; then it's up to the parents to come and enroll the child wherever they go.

Indeed, given all the other evidence of cooperation between the two systems, it could hardly be otherwise. The full implications of this point will be discussed in the concluding section.

X. ST. AUGUSTINE'S SCHOOL--A SPECIAL CASE

One area in which we surmised the agreement might have an effect on school climate was the presence of large numbers of non-Catholics in the Catholic religious education program. Therefore, we made special inquiries among some of the teachers at St. Augustine's School, the separate school with the largest non-Catholic enrollment.

These teachers indicated that the Come to the Father program, and the policies of the school system, were such that few committed Christians would be uncomfortable. As a matter of policy, no attempt is made to convert non-Catholic students to Catholicism; and the emphasis of the program is on Christian values rather than Catholic dogma. The one effect they observed was that the presence of non-Catholics would occasionally "lead to some interesting discussions."

The only special provision made for non-Catholic students is that they do not attend classes designed specifically to prepare Catholic students for specifically Catholic rites and sacraments, such as Confession and First Communion. At St. Augustine, where the non-Catholic enrollment is unusually high, Protestant ministers are brought in at these times to teach Bible stories to the non-Catholic students.

Non-Catholic students are not permitted to partake of the Mass, and are permitted not to attend, but the indications were that most of the non-Catholic students do attend the Masses held in the schools. (Catholic students in the public schools are excused from class on religious holidays, as are students of other religious groups.)

In the course of the above inquiries, it became clear that St. Augustine was, for a number of reasons, unique with regard to climate. Therefore we felt it merited some special consideration. No suggestion is intended that St. Augustine is typical of the separate schools; indeed, its uniqueness is recognized by officials of both systems.

Most of this school's unique qualities appear to be attributable to the personality of its principal, Sr. Juliana Heisler. Sr. Juliana is one of the few nuns still working in the Saskatoon Catholic schools, and is an unusually dedicated and charismatic figure. She is a member of the order of Sisters of Sion, which she indicated was originally founded to break down prejudice between Jews and Christians; in the era since Vatican II, that order has had the further mission of promoting understanding between Christian denominations. She also had had experience throughout the Saskatoon separate system as a reading specialist prior to her appointment as principal, and therefore was familiar with the entire staff of the system.

When St. Augustine was on the drawing boards, following system policy Sr. Juliana was "in place" a year before the opening. She spent the year doing a great deal of community development work; but she also did a great deal of "lobbying" at central office to acquire the staff she wanted. She said she had the opportunity to hand-pick her staff, and she particularly looked for faculty who "didn't mind kids around, didn't mind spending extra time with kids," or in other words, for an unusual degree of commitment and dedication. Sr. Juliana herself, as one public school official pointed out, was generally at the school for

12 hours a day, so parents who had to work were able to leave their children off early or pick them up late, with no fears for their condition.

She mentioned a number of policies she followed in order to make it clear to all that "kids come first," and that school should be a place where children are happy. Among the policies she mentioned was announcing over the loudspeakers whenever a class went on a trip and was complimented by the bus driver, or when any favorable notice about the children reached the school. This, she said, gives them high standards to live up to, and they respond well. She also arranged to have men teachers in the lower grades (K-3). This policy had a good effect for several reasons. One is that it gave a father figure to many children who had no fathers, at an age where they really need it. It also helped to provide protection for the younger children, because the same men coached the athletic activities for the older boys. Thus, since the older boys are likely to respect their coaches, and also to be aware that the youngsters stand in a special relationship to these same men, they are not likely to bully the young kids for fear of angering or losing the respect of the coaches. Moreover she noted that many of the older students seemed to like youngsters so much that they would go down to the kindergarten and first grade classes to help the small children with their coats, and would volunteer to babysit on parent nights. (She indicated that she gets 100% attendance on parent nights.) This school has 47% non-Catholic enrollment in the kindergarten, and upwards of 30% overall. It is also the only Catholic school in Saskatoon that actually has a larger enrollment than the neighboring public school.

A public school official noted that, in addition to the many qualities of St. Augustine directly attributable to Sr. Juliana, the school had superior noon-hour supervision to the neighboring Roland Michener (public) School. The public school provides noon-hour supervision only on especially cold days, and expects the students to return home for lunch otherwise. In contrast, St. Augustine provides noon-hour supervision daily, in addition to being available to students from about 7:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. due to Sr. Juliana's constant presence.

XI. THREATS TO THE AGREEMENT

Although the situation in Saskatoon seems stable and cooperative, there are several possible events which, if they were to arise, might prove a serious threat to the agreement.

First, obviously, is the possibility of "raiding." If either system were to begin to make active efforts to recruit from the other's constituency, it appears likely that such an action would be seen as a breach of faith. If an acceptable accommodation could not be negotiated, we would expect the injured party to withdraw from the agreement.

Secondly, a weak spot lies in the requirement of the Catholic system that non-Catholic parents sign a declaration agreeing that their children will participate in religious education. The right of the system to require such a declaration has never been tested. As one Catholic school official said, "Lord help us if we can't enforce that." He admitted that, if a court denied the system the right to enforce such a declaration, the agreement would be terminated.

A third possibility that might lead to a change, if not a termination, of the agreement, rests with a case currently in arbitration. A Catholic school secretary who was not of the Roman Catholic faith was terminated for living common-law with a man. It has already become clear to the separate system officials, through the arguments presented in court, that, they can

> have some different expectations for Catholics than we can have for non-Catholics; because they tell us that a Catholic, because it is a universal church, has certain beliefs--that, whether you live

here or in San Francisco, certain beliefs are common to all Catholics. Whereas Catholics can be assumed to share the common beliefs of the Church, that is, no such assumption can be made about non-Catholics, nor can they be required to live according to the same standards, unless such a requirement is put in writing. The most immediate consequence of the case is that the following declaration has been added to the employment application of the separate school system:

> I understand that I have made application to gain employment with a denominational school division--a division based on Catholic Christian values. Should I gain employment I agree to publicly support the school division and to maintain a lifestyle which is in harmony with its teachings.
>
> I certify that all statements made by me in this application are true to the best of my knowledge and I understand that if I gain employment and misrepresentation is identified, I may be dismissed from the employ of the school division.

At the time of this writing, the declaration was under review by the system's legal staff for conformity to the province's and the nation's human rights laws.

Other officials suggested that the result of the incident would most probably be to institute a policy of hiring only Catholics to work in the separate system, in any capacity. There has been some tendency in the past to favor Catholics when possible, and this is looked upon as legitimate; however, supply-and-demand factors have resulted in some non-Catholic employees.

What other effects this incident may have cannot as yet be determined.

Finally, although nobody said so, it is clear that changes in the policies of the Catholic Church could also have an effect on the

agreement between the Saskatoon school systems. If the reforms instituted by Vatican II were repudiated, e.g., if Catholics and non-Catholics were forbidden by the Church to attend each other's churches; if the Catholic Church once again adhered to the principle that "outside the [Catholic] Church there is no salvation;" if the Baltimore Catechism were restored to its former place of prominence in Catholic education, then the Catholic school environment would once again become inhospitable to non-Catholics, if, indeed, they were permitted to attend Catholic schools at all.

It is worth noting that at least some officials see an end to the agreement as a much more disruptive event than its continuation. One public school official described what he called "the major consequences of undoing it:"

> We would lay off . . . a hundred teachers or better [because of the enrollment loss. But] that's strictly an administrative problem. . . . If there was a suggestion that the agreement would be done away with, that public schools would serve only . . . non-Catholic students, that the Catholic board would serve only Catholic pupils, there would be, I suspect, such an uproar in this community that. . . .
>
> [OTHER INTERVIEWEE] . . . there would be an election right away. . . . I really believe there would be just absolute turmoil.

Thus, the impression is given that, not only are the two systems largely in harmony, but there is also strong community support for the arrangement.

XII. SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

The foregoing discussion has described a situation in which families may choose, without fee, penalty, or red tape, to send their children to any school in either of two school systems, a public non-denominational system and a publicly supported Roman Catholic school system. This arrangement exists in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (Canada). This research has been intended as exploratory and hypothesis-generating, rather than as conclusive and hypothesis-testing. It has been carried out principally through face-to-face interviews with the officials of both Saskatoon school systems (public and Catholic). Resources did not permit extensive documentation through empirical observation or survey research. At the present point in our work, much material tends to raise questions, the answers to which raise more questions. Further work would undoubtedly clarify the issues considerably.

The situation under investigation was established by legal agreement between the public board of education and the separate (Roman Catholic) board of education in Saskatoon. One agreement, signed in 1970, covered secondary students. A second agreement, signed in 1973, covered elementary students. According to the agreements, students were unusually free to attend the school of their choice in either system. Although such an arrangement is unheard of in the United States, it is comprehensible when viewed against the background of laws governing educational finance in Canada, which were reviewed earlier in this document. For example, Canada has no constitutional provision for separation

of church and state.

The normal arrangement in the Province of Saskatchewan is for students of the majority religious group (Catholic or non-Catholic) to attend the public schools, and where such schools are available, for the minority religious group (usually Roman Catholic) to attend the so-called separate schools. Each school system is supported by property taxes of taxpayers of the appropriate religion. Under the terms of the Saskatoon agreements, when a student whose parents' property taxes are assigned to one system attends the schools operated by the other system, the former system pays a tuition fee to the latter system.

Since the agreements were signed, both systems have shown a progressive increase in the proportion of their students whose families are tax supporters of the other system. The Catholic system experienced a notable enrollment decline immediately after the elementary agreement went into effect (1973). Since that time, vigorous public relations efforts by the Catholic school board, coupled with a new policy concerning school location and transportation services, have reversed that decline. The Catholic system has been increasing its enrollment by about half a percent per year. The public school system's enrollment is stabilizing. Total enrollment in the public system is about 2-1/2 times as great as that in the Catholic system.

Both school systems practice a policy of "open boundaries," or open enrollment. In the public system, a fairly extensive range of program options, including a number of special programs for the handicapped, programs for the gifted, and music, language, and shop programs are

available at all the elementary schools with bilingual programs in a few. The public secondary schools, however, are reputedly rather differentiated, with one specializing in a program for low achievers, two having extensive vocational offerings, and the remaining four having two types of academic programs. This broad range of options apparently stems from an avowed philosophical commitment by the system's leaders, to appropriate education for all students. The policy of placing all programs in all schools, on the elementary level at least, follows from a similar commitment to integration of all types of students.

The Catholic system, which operates considerably fewer schools, follows a different policy. Rather than trying to make all program options available in all schools, it has tended to differentiate its elementary schools, partly as a means of insuring adequate enrollments (on the assumption that specialized schools will be more attractive), providing transportation to students enrolled in the special programs. The Catholic system has made a strong commitment to bilingual education, and has a special fine arts school, as well as programs for the gifted and the handicapped. Its two secondary schools are primarily academic, with limited vocational offerings.

The Catholic system's avowed philosophical commitments are to openness, flexibility, religious education, and service, rather than to extensive program options. "Service" includes transportation, noon-hour supervision, provision for students to enter the schools early or stay late, and (one gets the impression) a great deal of direct attention to, and caring for, children.

Thus, the agreement to permit free choice not only within but between systems has resulted in what appears to be an unusually broad range of options. Families may choose not only among schools with a wide variety of special programs, but between two school systems, one of which offers religious education while the other does not; one of which stresses appropriate match of student and program while the other stresses individual attention and service; one of which seems to be more decentralized than the other; and both of which appear to be continually seeking out parent demand for additional alternatives. Additionally, both systems make some limited arrangements to provide an institutional home for various sorts of alternative educational programs that spring up in the private sector. In this situation, the range of alternatives seems to be uncommonly wide indeed, especially if one considers climate variations as well as program variations.

We set out to explore the consequences of this arrangement. In earlier work, we had learned that the systems had gone through a period of relative laissez-faire, followed by a stage of vigorous public relations efforts, apparently designed to hold onto their own constituencies. We had anticipated that, by the time of the present research, we would find strong, open competition between the two systems for students.

We found no such thing. What we found, rather, was something that might be characterized as cooperative competition, or friendly rivalry. Structurally, the situation had many of the characteristics of oligopolistic competition, which is to be expected in a market dominated by few suppliers, with no price competition. Under these circumstances,

what usually happens is that each supplier differentiates its offerings, imitating the most successful products of the competition, and competes for market shares, advertising extensively to make its offerings known.

The latter analogy is valid in many respects. There is no price competition, as both systems charge no fees, and thus cannot raise or lower them as the market demands. The educational market is indeed dominated by only two suppliers. And both have made extensive efforts to offer a wide range of options. Further, they both admit to watching each other's innovations closely, and to providing something similar to their competition's most successful offerings.

This accounts for the odd combination of insistence that the two systems are not out after each others' students, but extreme pleasure at the number of each other's students that they attract. The attention to the numbers of students from the other system may represent a way of keeping score. Studies of high-level business executives suggest that many of them with high need for achievement have a strong desire to see their salaries increase annually even after they have passed the point where they can spend all they earn. Many of the world's wealthiest men suggest that they really have no use for the money--it's just a way of keeping score.[35] Something similar seems to be occurring here.

But there are other factors present which suggest that the images of cooperative competition or friendly rivalry are equally, or more, appropriate, than oligopolistic competition as analytic lenses. Officials of both systems stress the degree to which they cooperate with their counterparts in the other system. Curriculum committees established by

the public school board include representatives from the Catholic schools. The Directors of Education for the two systems meet jointly for many issues. The Teachers Association includes the faculties of both systems in its membership. Until recently, the Chairmen of both Boards were faculty members at the School of Education at the University of Saskatchewan (one has just retired from teaching). Both boards recently cooperated with the university's School of Education in a series of TV shows on education in Saskatoon. One gets the impression that nearly every person in a designated position in one of the systems works regularly with his or her counterpart in the other system.

One public school official, for example, pointed to the special education programs as evidence not only of the cooperation that exists, but of something unique to Saskatoon, an unusual degree of responsiveness in the Saskatoon schools.

> You could go into the history of special education in the public system and you find that [the program in Saskatoon is] something unique in Canada--it's gone back so far. And this has been done not only . . . for the public system, but it has been done in conjunction and cooperation with the other system because both systems can't operate a John Dolan School [the school for those with special needs]. So you buy services one from the other and . . . it's just a sensitivity to, you know, to parental wishes, to parental needs. I don't know that it arises so much out of the competition between the systems for the same clientele. There's not terribly much of that. . . .

Both systems appear to feel that they need each other, in sum. And there are many indications that the open enrollment arrangement has strong support in the community. Thus, if either system were to begin to compete in such a manner as to do injury to the other system, it appears that there would be a substantial public outcry.

When queried as to how they felt about the situation, respondents from both systems were inclined to say things like, "The competition is healthy; it keeps you on your toes; it makes for better education for all students in Saskatoon." There are several elements that keep the competition healthy. First, obviously, neither system wants to put the other out of business. Neither is prepared for the size of enrollment increase such a change would entail. Further, as several informants pointed out, the Catholic school system would begin to become quite uncomfortable as non-Catholic enrollments edged toward the 50 percent mark. Moreover, there is a distinct advantage to having an expanded range of choices from an administrative point of view. It has the (perhaps unintended) consequence of de-fusing conflict and buying off dissent, at least to a degree, mitigating the pressure that many Protestant denominations in the United States, for example, feel toward operating their own private schools, as well as the pressure for prayers in public schools, and allowing for an alternative for the discontented.

It should be noted that this alternative works on the personal as well as the ideological level. If, for example, a parent is unhappy with his or her child's teacher, and there are no alternative classrooms at the same grade level (the schools tend to be small), the parent has the option of transferring the child to a school that is nearly equally close to home, but that is likely to be quite different in atmosphere and emphasis. And no costs are incurred thereby.

Moreover, there are, as noted, a number of fortuitous circumstances in the Saskatoon situation which have helped to establish this latent

function of de-fusing discontent. Some of the pressure public schools have been feeling in the United States from those favoring school prayers, for example, is alleviated in Saskatoon by the provision of a denominational school system. The fact that this particular denominational school system, although Roman Catholic, stresses ecumenism rather than denominationalism, is a factor further strengthening this alternative for many parents. (And, on the other hand, the fact that the Canadian constitution does permit school prayers in public schools also helps to lessen the pressure.) Clearly, not all desires, or combinations of desires, can be satisfied; however, the fact that the two systems have different educational philosophies, the fact that one is denominational and the other is not, that one is centralized and the other is less so, that one is small and the other is large, that one offers specialized schools at the secondary level while the other does so at the elementary level, all serve to increase the probability that the discontented will go elsewhere and be better satisfied. And at the same time, each system is relieved of the responsibility of trying to be all things to all people.

One may ask, however, "If the competition is so healthy, wherein lies the need to stay on one's toes? What are the feared consequences of being caught flatfooted?"

Some public school officials suggested, ambiguously, that what they feared was not so much loss of students as loss of funding. Obviously, when they lose students they lose funds. The prospect of future fiscal constraints is made clear in the 1980 final budget, which stresses the fact that education is no longer first priority at the provincial

level. Emphasis has shifted from education and health to resource development, with the result that the proportion of school costs covered by provincial grants is decreasing. Thus far, neither system has had to lay off any teachers, and neither anticipates having to do so in the foreseeable future. The public system sees its enrollments as stabilizing, while those of the Catholic system are growing slightly. However, in a period of precipitous decline in funding, layoffs might be required, with the attendant poor morale that such action would generate.

There is an ambiguity to these statements, however. When making the above points, these officials hinted that relations with the Catholic board had become slightly less open since provincial funding began to decline. This suggests the possibility that financially strained circumstances might have the effect that we anticipated the (non-existent) enrollment decline to have, namely, vigorous and open competition for students, since provincial funding is proportional to the number of students enrolled. Nonetheless, both systems maintain the position that they are not out to capture each other's students. But the future may produce something else.

Another motive for "staying on your toes" seems to be pride. The Catholic system, discovering it was losing enrollment as a result of the agreement, mounted a massive public relations effort to become more visible. Saskatoon is a pretty small town--population about 160,000 and not much more than 2 miles across. If one system becomes visible in a town that size, it seems reasonable to suppose that officers of the other system would not want to be compared unfavorably, and thus would feel

the need to remain equally visible. This would account for the massive public relations effort mounted by the public school system. Similarly, if neither wants to be thought of as inferior, both must be aware of the other's innovations, and adopt those that seem to draw approval from their constituencies. Further, innovations always need advertising to help them catch on, especially in an oligopolistic market. What we are suggesting is that the extreme visibility of the two systems probably accounts better for the "on their toes" posture of the administrators better than the fear of loss of enrollment.

Enrollment loss was explicitly not a worry on the part of public school administrators. Indeed, one public school official went so far as to point out that, with over twice the number of tax supporters, the public school system could reasonably expect to lose twice as many students to the Catholic schools, whereas in fact there were about twice as many Catholic students in the public schools as there were non-Catholic students in the Catholic schools.

The separate school administrators seemed more concerned about their enrollments, but more from the point of view of not losing their own than of gaining public school supporters. They pointed out that they were somewhat at a disadvantage relative to tax support--a minimal effort had to be made to assure that one's tax support went to the Catholic schools, whereas no effort was required to support the public schools. Further, they felt that, as a smaller, minority system, they had to make greater efforts to be known in order to reach their constituents. This, too, accounts for that system's public relations efforts.

(Further detail on this aspect of the situation will be found in the section on funding arrangements.)

Suggestions for Further Research

To the best of our knowledge, Saskatoon offers a situation unlike any other in North America, in that so many options are available to parents seeking schools for their children, with so few barriers keeping them from choosing any that they prefer. In light of this fact, further research on the ways parents actually do choose schools in this situation seems highly desirable. It might be the only chance to examine the consequences of choice that is unencumbered to this unusual extent. Even in Alum Rock, where a voucher experiment was tried, the alternatives were much more limited, generally to three types of programs, and with no provision for a denominational alternative.

Another topic worth pursuing further concerns elements of school climate. It seems from the St. Augustine example that distinctive climates may produce a greater degree of cross-choice. It would be useful to survey, e.g., the two public and the two Catholic elementary schools with the largest percentage of people from the other system in attendance, and the two from each system at the other extreme, to see if we can locate the dimensions of climate most likely to attract parents from the other system, or find out if it's in fact dimensions of climate that attract them. In this respect, it would probably also be worthwhile to study the nearest schools of the other system to the ones with high cross-choice, to see what people are trying to escape. (Perhaps it's

not just that some outstanding climate features attract people, but that most families will give strongest consideration to the two schools in the immediate neighborhood, and that there is likely to be high cross-choice when one is significantly and obviously better in some desired respect, rather than when one is outstanding. This is an empirical question.

In conclusion, this brief, exploratory look at the unusual opportunity for families to choose freely among schools in Saskatoon has turned up several surprises. We found much more collaboration between systems than we anticipated, and considerably less competition. It suggests, among other things, the possibility that a voucher scheme in the United States would not necessarily produce the fierce, unbridled competition that is assumed in much discussion on the topic. It suggests that permitting parents to choose freely from among schools may produce much less religious segregation than has been generally assumed, since in Saskatoon the freedom had the consequence of channeling more Catholics to public schools and more non-Catholics to Catholic schools. It suggests, as does some of our current British Columbia research, that climate differences may be more important to many parents than differences in school programs.[36]

The Saskatoon situation presents an exceptional opportunity for further research. We commend it to scholars in Canadian universities, and we may decide to engage in some of that further investigation ourselves.

APPENDIX A: LETTERS

saskatoon catholic schools

420 - 22nd ST EAST – SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN S7K 1X3

CONGRATULATIONS

Please accept our Congratulations on the Baptism of your child. It is our hope that in the future we can be a partner in strengthening the religious dimension of his life which began with this Sacrament.

FOR THE
BOARD OF EDUCATION

saskatoon catholic schools

420 - 22nd ST EAST – SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN S7K 1X3

On behalf of the Board of Education I wish to express my sincere thanks to you for your responsiveness in attending to the matter of property tax transfers. You can be sure that we appreciate your consideration in helping us establish a sound financial base for the operation of our school division.

BOARD OF EDUCATION

saskatoon catholic schools

ST. PAUL'S R.C.S.S.D. #20
420 - 22nd St. East, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 1X3 Phone: 652-6464

[Letter to Non-Catholic Newcomers]

I am pleased to note that you have registered your child in one of the Saskatoon Catholic schools. On behalf of the Board of Education, I want to extend a warm welcome to you and to your child.

The Catholic schools in Saskatoon offer a complete program of studies. This includes a religious education course which is taught at all the grade levels. We hope that our formal programs and various related activities will contribute to moral and spiritual growth in accordance with Christian ideals.

We also hope that your associations with the Catholic schools will be most pleasant and that your child's experience will always be happy and positive.

Please do not hesitate to call our office or the principal of your school if you have any questions concerning your school or the Catholic school division.

Yours sincerely,

W. Podiluk
Director of Education

WP/acz

saskatoon catholic schools

ST. PAUL'S R.C.S.S.D. #20
420 - 22nd St. East, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 1X3 Phone: 652-6464

[Letter to Catholic Newcomers]

I am pleased to note that you have recently moved to Saskatoon and have registered your child in one of our Catholic Schools. On behalf of the Board of Education, let me extend a warm welcome to you. We hope your association with the school division will be most pleasant and that your child's experience will always be happy and positive.

Our Catholic schools strive to offer a complete program of studies. This includes religious education which is taught at all grade levels. It is our hope that the formal programs and various related activities will contribute to academic growth as well as moral and spiritual development.

Enclosed is some information about our school division. Please do not hesitate to call us or the principal of your school for any additional information.

Sincerely,

W. Podiluk
Director of Education

WP/rg

saskatoon catholic schools

ST. PAUL'S R.C.S.S.D. #20
420 - 22nd St. East, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 1X3 Phone: 652-6464

November 10, 1979

AN IMPORTANT NOTICE TO CATHOLIC PROPERTY OWNERS

When property changes hands, it is assumed by the City Assessor that the new owner is a public school supporter even if the previous owner designated school taxes to the Catholic school division. The onus is on Catholic school supporters to declare their tax status.

Every year it is discovered that a number of Catholic families who have children attending Catholic schools are listed as taxpayers of the Public School Board. Most frequently, this is not the fault of the individual homeowner as tax transfers do not take effect until the following year. However, we attempt to check the tax roles and ensure that the school taxes of Catholic school supporters are going to the Catholic schools.

To ensure that you are listed as a Catholic school supporter in 1980, we ask you to sign the enclosed tax transfer document and mail it to the Catholic Board of Education office as soon as possible. We have enclosed a stamped, self-addressed envelope for this purpose.

If you have any questions concerning this matter, please contact Ken Barker, Associate Director - Administrative Services, at 652-6464.

W. Podiluk
Director of Education

Encl.

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W. Podiluk, Director of Education G.T. Molloy, Secretary-Treasurer

saskatoon catholic schools

ST. PAUL'S R.C.S.S.D. #20
420 - 22nd St. East, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7K 1X3 Phone: 652-6464

[Letter to Companies Without Share Capital]

January 16, 1980.

Dear Secretary:

RE: Societies Undeclared and School Support

A tax search was carried out on December 28, 1979 on behalf of our school division by the City. The listing shows is an owner assessed as an undeclared society and school support is directed totally to the public school system. Unless a declaration is made, school support defaults to the public school system.

I am writing this letter to request the Council to adopt a resolution apportioning school support between the public and separate school divisions on an equitable basis. Roughly, this would be public 75% and separate 25%. Because of the nature of your organization and the composition of its membership, it would be quite appropriate in our view for you to divide your school support.

You are empowered to do this under the Education Act, Section 300(1) which states:

> *"A body corporate without share capital may, by notice to the assessor of any municipality, or to the Minister of Municipal Affairs with respect to any local improvement district, in which a separate school division is situated in whole or in part, require any part of the real property in respect of which the body corporate is assessable to be assessed for the purposes of the separate school division, and the assessor shall enter the body corporate as a separate school supporter in the assessment roll in respect of the property designated in the notice, and*

the part of the property that is so designated shall be assessed in the name of the body corporate for the purposes of the separate school division, but all other property of the body corporate shall be assessed for the purposes of the public school division."

I have enclosed the document used for this purpose as supplied to me by the City Assessor.

I request that you place this matter before Council at your next meeting. Mr. Ray Bird, City Assessor (664-9221) or I will be happy to answer any questions you might have. I would appreciate receiving the completed declaration so that I can convey it to the City Assessor. We have a Commissioner for Oaths in our offices if required.

Yours sincerely,

K.P. Barker,
Associate Director,
Administrative Services and Treasurer.

KPB/fk

Enclosures:

APPENDIX B: TAX DECLARATION FORMS

CITY OF SASKATOON - ASSESSORS DEPARTMENT

THE URBAN MUNICIPALITY ACT. 1970 SEC. 324 - SUB. SEC. (1) (6) (7) (8)

FORM A-280-20M-1/75

ENTERED	CANCEL	POLL	LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS	TAXES	ROLL NUMBER
					—

PREVIOUS OWNER	A.C. CHANGED

ASSESSMENT				EXEMPTION			TOTAL ASSESSMENT		CODES		
CODE	LAND	BUILDINGS	UNIT'D	CODE	LAND	BUILDINGS	PUBLIC SCHOOL	SEPARATE SCHOOL	A.N.	LTD. COY	

REMARKS _____

(ABOVE FOR OFFICE USE ONLY)

PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT ALL INFORMATION

NOTIFICATION OF CHANGE **OF OWNERSHIP** ☐ **OF ADDRESS** ☐ **OF SCHOOL** ☐ **OF DESCRIPTION** ☐

IF CHANGE OF OWNERSHIP — STATE SALE PRICE _____ DATE _____ 19___

YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED THAT

ADDRESS OF PROPERTY	PLAN	BLOCK	LOT

IN THE CITY OF SASKATOON IS NOW OWNED BY:

NAME _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

FORMER MAILING ADDRESS _____

PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPPORTER ☐ **SEPARATE SCHOOL SUPPORTER** ☐

NOTE - CORPORATE COMPANIES MUST FILE AFFIDAVIT (SEE BACK)

I hereby declare the above information to be true, to the best of my knowledge. Signed _____

NOTICE

THE URBAN MUNICIPALITY ACT, 1970

SEC. 324 — Sub Sec. (1) Every assessable person or his agent shall, upon the request of the assessor, forthwith furnish to the assessor, in writing signed by the person required or his agent and in such form and detail as the assessor may require, true and accurate information respecting the land owned by that person and respecting all buildings, structures and fixtures thereon, and particulars as to sale price, terms and conditions of lease, covenants in leases, construction costs, cost of alterations and repairs and rents payable or paid or agreed to be paid, but no information furnished pursuant to a request under this subsection shall bind the assessor or estop him from making inquiry as to its correctness.

Sub. Sec. (6) A person who fails to furnish within a reasonable time any information required by the assessor is guilty of an offence and liable on a summary conviction to a fine not exceeding $5 for every day during which the default continues.

Sub. Sec. (7) A person who wilfully furnishes the assessor with false information is guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding $100.

Sub. Sec. (8) Where any land or business is sold, the vendor and the purchaser shall forthwith notify the assessor in writing of the change of ownership.

NOTE:

School Support: This form for use by individual (unincorporated) ownerships only.
Public School Supporter - Means any religious faith other than Greek or Roman Catholic.
Separate School Supporter - Means Greek or Roman Catholic religious faith.

Limited Companies: must file an affidavit in accordance with the School Assessment Act. (Forms available in this office.)

SHAREHOLDER COMPANY SCHOOL DECLARATION

To: The City Clerk
Saskatoon S7K 0J5

The Education Act, 1978 allows a shareholder company to give notice regarding school support according to (ONE) of the following applicable notices.

(1) NOTICE WHERE OWNERSHIP OF SHARES ARE DIVIDED BETWEEN SEPARATE SCHOOL SUPPORTERS AND PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPPORTERS

TAKE NOTICE that in pursuance of a resolution of the Directors of .... (Company Limited) the Company require all property in respect of which the company is assessable, to be entered, rated and assessed for the purpose of said Separate School, or Public School, in the following proportions: The Amount of the share capital of the Company is divided into ..... shares. The number of shares paid or partly paid up, held and possessed by persons who are Public School Supporters ..... and by persons who are Separate School Supporters .....

(2) NOTICE WHERE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ASCERTAIN PROPORTIONS OF SHARES HELD BY PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPPORTERS AND SEPARATE SCHOOL SUPPORTERS

TAKE NOTICE that ..... (Company Limited) hereby notifies you that it is practically impossible, owing to the number of its shareholders and their wide distribution in point of residence, to ascertain the proportion of the stock of the Company held by Public School Supporters and Separate School Supporters respectively.

(3) NOTICE WHERE ALL OF THE SHAREHOLDERS OF A COMPANY ARE PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPPORTERS OR ALL ARE SEPARATE SCHOOL SUPPORTERS

TAKE NOTICE that the whole of the shareholders of the .... (Company Limited) are ___ Separate School Supporters ___ Public School Supporters

---

I, ... of the City of ..... in the Province of Saskatchewan do solemnly declare:

1. I am the ..... of the above named Company in Saskatchewan.

2. I have read over the above notice and the information contained therein is true in substance and in fact.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of "The Canada Evidence Act."

Declared before me at the City of Saskatoon, in the Province of Saskatchewan, this ..... day of ..... 19.....

A Commissioner for Oaths in and for the Province of Saskatchewan. My Commission expires December 31, 19....

SIGNED

NOTE: 1. This StatutoryDeclaration must be made by the President, Vice-President or Secretary of the Company, or by the Manager of the affairs of the Company in Saskatchewan.

2. Please insure that spelling of Company name is exactly as registered with the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies.

3. Please complete and return to the Office of the City Clerk, City Hall, Saskatoon, on or before December 1st, to be effective for following year.

4. There is a Commissioner for Oaths available in the Assessment Office for the signing of school declarations — no charge.

IF NOTICE IS NOT RECEIVED, ASSESSMENT WILL BE DIVIDED FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE SEPARATE SCHOOL SCHOOL DIVISION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DIVISION IN THE SAME RATIO OF ASSESSMENTS OF PERSONS OTHER THAN COMPANIES.

SCHOOL DECLARATION OF CORPORATION NOT HAVING SHARE CAPITAL

To: City Assessor
Saskatoon S7K 0J5

TAKE NOTICE that in pursuance of a resolution of the Directors of .....
.....
.....
the Directors require ..... % of the real property in respect of which the corporation is assessable, to be assessed for the purposes of the separate school.

I, ... of the City of ..... in the Province of Saskatchewan do solemnly declare:

1. I am the ..... of the above named Corporation in Saskatchewan.

2. I have read over the above notice and the information contained therein is true in substance and in fact.

And I make this solemn declare conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of "The Canada Evidence Act."

Declared before me at the City of Saskatoon, in the Province of Saskatchewan, this ..... day of ..... 19....

_____
A Commissioner for Oaths in and for the Province of Saskatchewan. My Commission expires December 31, 19...

_____
SIGNED

NOTE: 1. This Statutory Declaration must be made by the President, Vice-President or Secretary of the Corporation, or by the Manager of the affairs of the Corporation in Saskatchewan.

2. Please insure that spelling of Corporation name is exactly as registered.

3. Please complete and return to the Office of the City Assessor, City Hall, Saskatoon, on or before December 1st.

APPENDIX C: SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FORMS

SASKATOON CATHOLIC BOARD OF EDUCATION

ST. PAUL'S R.C.S.S.D. #20

D E C L A R A T I O N O F S T A T U S

By Parents or Guardians of Non-Catholic Children

(To be completed prior to the admission of a Non-Catholic student to a Catholic School)

NAMES OF PARENTS OR GUARDIANS _____

ADDRESS _____

NAMES AND GRADE PLACEMENTS OF STUDENTS

Name	Grade	Previous School Attended
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

I agree to have my children attend a Catholic School and to meet all the enrolment requirements including participation in the regular Catechetics courses.

NAME OF CATHOLIC SCHOOL _____

DATE OF REGISTRATION _____

_____ DATE

_____ SIGNATURE OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN

To be completed before a student is admitted to school.

SASKATOON COLLEGIATES AND HIGH SCHOOLS

Application For Admission

For Office Use Only

Date: _____ Allocation _____

If the application is not made in person, it should be mailed to the COLLEGIATE YOU WILL ATTEND. During July and August your Collegiate Office will be open from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.

STUDENT'S NAME IN FULL _____
(Last Name) (Underline Name Used)

SASKATOON ADDRESS _____ TELEPHONE _____

LAST SCHOOL ATTENDED AND ADDRESS _____

_____

GRADE YOU ARE IN NOW _____ DATE _____

Please mark with an X the collegiate/high school you plan to attend:

Aden Bowman ____ Bedford Road ____ City Park ____ Evan Hardy ____ Nutana ____

Mount Royal Comprehensive ____ Walter Murray Comprehensive ____ Riverview ____

E.D. Feehan High School (Separate) ____ Holy Cross High School (Separate) ____

NOTE: Qualifications re nonresident charges: Students who live outside of the city must pay nonresident fees.

All nonresidents must arrange for payment of nonresident fees prior to registration in our schools by either:

(i) providing our Board with a letter accepting the responsibility for the payment of the fee from the home school jurisdiction

or

(ii) making arrangements for the payment of nonresident fees with the Superintendent of Business and Administration

THE STUDENT MUST PRESENT A LETTER STATING ARRANGEMENTS REGARDING CHARGES HAVE BEEN COMPLETED WHEN REGISTERING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SCHOOL TERM.

I/we agree that our son/daughter register at _____ and that he/she will NOT register at any other collegiate/high school in Saskatoon except for very special reasons.

_____
Parent/Guardian

Form 23

Board of Education

Saskatoon School Division No. 13

A MESSAGE TO PARENTS OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN

Have you a child born in 1975 or January, 1976? If you have, he or she may enter kindergarten in the Saskatoon Public Schools in September, 1980.

You have several choices:
(1) You may enrol your child in the kindergarten in your neighborhood school,
(2) You may enrol your child in a French kindergarten in the designated French program at Victoria School, 639 Broadway Avenue,
(3) You may enrol your child in a Ukrainian kindergarten located in Churchill School, 2410 Haultain Avenue. If sufficient parents wished, this location could be changed.
(4) You may enrol your child in a Cree kindergarten located in Westmount School, 411 Avenue J North.

Transportation grants are available to parents whose children enrol in the second language kindergartens (#2, #3, #4 above).

All four programs are the same except that in the first one, the language of instruction is English; in the others, it is either French, Ukrainian or Cree up to 100% of the time.

The program in the designated school for French at Victoria School was conducted this year for children in Kindergarten, Year I and Year II. The children in all classes will advance one year and a new kindergarten will be started. This program will be extended to Grade XII as these children progress.

The Kindergarten program in Ukrainian was not in operation last year but had been operating at Churchill School for several years. If parents wished, they could launch this program again and request the Board's consideration to extend Ukrainian to higher grades.

Provincial guidelines read as follows:

"The proportion of time in which second languages may be taught or used as the language of instruction under Section 209 (2A) of the School Act is as follows:

Kindergarten - up to 100% of the time
Year One - up to 75% of the time
Year Two - up to 75% of the time
Year Three - up to 60% of the time
Year Four - up to 60% of the time
Year Five to Grade XII - up to 50% of the time"

We are anxious to know how many pupils to expect in our kindergartens next fall. Please help us by registering your child as early as possible.

If you have a child who will be five years of age by January 31, 1981, please complete the form below and return it to the Principal of the school in your neighborhood as soon as possible.

When schools open this fall, parents will be asked to submit a birth certificate for the child at that time. If a birth certificate or other acceptable proof of age such as baptismal certificate, hospital registration (not hospitalization card) or passport is not presented to the Principal by October 1, 1980, parents will be asked to withdraw the child from school.

Many thanks for your cooperation!

M.J. Kindrachuk, C.M., Ph.D.,
Superintendent of Schools.
January, 1980

If your child was born in Saskatchewan, birth certificates are available for a $5.00 fee from:
Division of Vital Statistics
Provincial Health Building
3211 Albert Street
REGINA, Saskatchewan, S4S 0A6

.....

REGISTRATION OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILD

To the Principal of _____ School - regular kindergarten
_____ School - French kindergarten
_____ School - Ukrainian kindergarten
_____ School - Cree kindergarten

Please register my child for admittance to school in September 1980.

Child's name in full _____ Telephone _____

Address _____ Is the child Greek or Roman Catholic? _____

SASKATOON BOARD OF EDUCATION

INFORMATION FOR SCHOOL RECORDS

Form 36

1. Family Name _____ Address _____ Postal Code _____ Telephone _____

2. Name of Family Doctor _____ Telephone _____ Hospitalization Number _____

3. Children to be Admitted to School:

Name (In Full)	Year or Grade	Date of Birth Yr. Mo. Day	Proof of Birth-date*	Sex M/F	Place of Birth	Treaty Number if the child is Native	Date of Doctor's Latest Examination

* Birth Certificate, Baptismal Certificate, Passport or Hospital Registration

4. School last attended _____ Address _____

5. Have any of the above children attended a Saskatoon Public School previously? _____

6. Number of pre-school children in the home _____ Ages: _____ Number of children who have completed elementary school: _____

7. Is/Are the child/children Greek or Roman Catholic (for tax purposes) _____.

8. FATHER/GUARDIAN: Name _____ Employer _____ Business Phone _____

9. MOTHER/GUARDIAN: Name _____ Employer _____ Business Phone _____

10. What language besides English is spoken in the home? _____

11. Please place on the reverse side any information which you think might be helpful to the teacher, such as the child's physical handicaps, hearing, vision, prolonged illnesses, learning problems, important family changes, etc.

NOTE: It is most important that we have proof of every child's age. Would you kindly be sure that the teacher sees the necessary proof of birth-date as soon as possible? For Kindergarten and Year 1 this must be done before October 1.

SIGNATURE OF PARENT OR GUARDIAN: _____ DATE: _____

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APPENDIX D: LIST OF INFORMANTS

Public School Officials

Dr. Ray G. Fast, Director of Education

Dr. John G. Egnatoff, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Mr. W. G. "Bill" Bender, Executive Assistant

Dr. R. B. Earl, Superintendent of Schools--Secondary

Dr. Mike Kindrachuk, Superintendent of Schools--Elementary

Dr. David Keith, Assistant Superintendent of Personnel

Dr. Herve O. Langlois, Superintendent of Business and Administration

Dr. Doug Hicks, Superintendent of Planning, Development, and Research

Separate School Officials

Mr. Walter Podiluk, Director of Education

Dr. Phil Hammel, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Mr. William Coumont, Superintendent of Support Services

Mr. Kenneth Barker, Associate Director of Administrative Services

Mr, Ken McDonough, Associate Director of Educational Services

Sr. Juliana Heisler, Principal, St. Augustine's School

Other Informants

Mr. Joe Kammermayer, Principal, St. Thomas's (Catholic) School, Past President, Saskatoon Teachers Association

Mr. Leverne Baxter, Secondary(Public)/School Teacher, President, Saskatoon Teachers Association

Mr. Karen Rongve, President, Saskatchewan Teachers Federation

Dr. Robin Farquhar, Dean, School of Education, University of Saskatchewan

Three teachers at St. Augustine's School who were promised anonymity

One public school teacher who was guaranteed anonymity

One parent with children enrolled in both school systems, who was guaranteed anonymity

NOTES

1. Donald A. Erickson and Richard L. Nault, Effects of Public Money on Catholic Schools in Western Canada: Exploratory Interviews (San Francisco: Center for Research on Private Education, University of San Francisco, 1980), pp. 208-209.

2. Ibid, pp. 216-217.

3. "Catholic school enrolments rise," Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, September 3, 1980; Paul Morgan, "End to school enrolment drop seen," Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, September 10, 1980.

4. Indeed, as the following suggests, rivalry and oligopolistic competition may be alternate terms for the same phenomenon. The relevance of this model becomes clear from the following description of the U. S. breakfast cereal industry, where, as in the Saskatoon education "industry," competition takes the form of product proliferation in the absence of price competition.

> The main way that . . . companies expand market share without cutting prices is to swamp the market with "new products. The more . . . products a company sells, the greater its chances of increasing its total market share. That strategy is known as "product proliferation." A company "competes," in other words, not by lowering price or increasing quality but by developing and marketing . . . gimmicks. . . . Being the first to introduce a "new"--and successful--[product] increases the chance of holding a high, steady market share. Some economists would term this "rivalry" rather than competition. ("Monopoly on the Cereal Shelves?" Consumer Reports 46:2 [February, 1981]: 77.)

Although we see the innovations of the Saskatoon school boards as having considerably greater import than "gimmicks," the "marketing strategy" of the boards appears similar to the of the cereal giants.

5. "This agreement made this 4th day of September A.D. 1973 between: The Board of Education of the Saskatoon School District No. 13 of Saskatchewan, hereinafter referred to as the Public Board, and The Board of Education of the St. Paul's Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 20 of Saskatchewan, hereinafter referred to as the Separate Board," p. 1.

6. Ibid., p. 2.

7. Ibid., p. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 4.

9. Ibid. At least in Saskatoon, Greek Catholics are classed with Roman Catholics as separate school supporters, and are expected to pay their property taxes to the separate school board. Copies of the tax declaration forms appear in Appendix B, and copies of the school enrollment forms appear in Appendix C.

10. Ibid.

11. G. E. Britnell and Allan R. Turner, "Saskatchewan," Encyclopedia Canadian, Vol. 7 (Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal: Grolier of Canada, Ltd.: 1970), pp. 206, 211.

12. W. B. Melvin, "Cooperatives," Encyclopedia Canadian, Vol. 3 (Toronto, Ottawa & Montreal: Grolier of Canada, Ltd, 1970), pp. 103-106.

13. Britnell, op. cit., p. 206.

14. Ibid., pp. 223-224.

15. Erickson and Nault (op. cit) were informed that the disparity also stemmed from the fact that Catholics comprise a higher proportion of renters, who pay no property tax.

16. Ibid.

17. The Education Act, 1978, 181 (1), 181(3)

18. John Kolynchuk (ed.), City of Saskatoon 1980 Municipal Manual, p. 44.

19. (One could conceive that it would be much more practical and cheaper for the city government simply to tax everyone equally and divide the revenues on the basis of enrollment figures. . . . However, historically the separate school districts were set up by those who wanted them, who then got the right to tax themselves and were exempted from public school tax. Thus, there is no precedent for such an arrangement. Moreover, the separate school administration would probably dislike such an arrangement because it takes away too much in the way of what little predictability they have left. That is, one advantage to the present system is that everybody has to publicly declare himself either Catholic or non-Catholic for tax purposes. If that provision were taken away, the Catholic schools might be in danger of losing their identity.

20. This letter appears in Appendix A.

21. This form appears in Appendix B.

22. Saskatoon Board of Education, Division 13, Our Schools through the decades 1884-1980: 1979-80 Annual Report, p. 15.

23. Saskatoon Catholic Schools, 1979-1980 Annual Report,

24. (Recently there was a movement afoot to elect board members through a ward system. The Catholic board is on record as opposing that system, as inappropriate. At least one official of the public board also expressed his opposition to the plan in interview. The idea is being studied by the provincial Department of Education and has been adopted in Regina.)

25. All figures are as of September, 1980, unless otherwise noted.

26. Saskatoon Catholic School Division "Focus," V.1 (March, 1980).

27. See Thomas W. Vitullo-Martin & Julia A. Vitullo-Martin, "The Politics of Alternative Models to the Public Schools," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education, 1973).

28. Saskatoon Board of Education, "Program Opportunities," (Saskatoon: Saskatoon Board of Education, n.d.), pp. 12-13.

29. Regulations under the Education Act, 1978, 44.

30. Saskatoon Board of Education, Annual Report, p. 12.

31. Sr. Mildred Kaufman, Attitudinal Survey of Catholic Parents (Saskatoon: Catholic Board of Education, 1975), p. 44.

32. Ibid., pp. 58-61.

33. Ibid., p. 62.

34. Ibid., p. 65.

35. See, for example, Phillip Slater, Wealth Addiction (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980).

36. Donald A. Erickson and Jonathan Kamin, How Parents Select Schools for their Children: Evidence from 993 Parents in British Columbia (San Francisco & Vancouver: Center for Research on Private Education and Educational Research Institute of British Columbia, 1980), semi-final draft, pp. 171-201.